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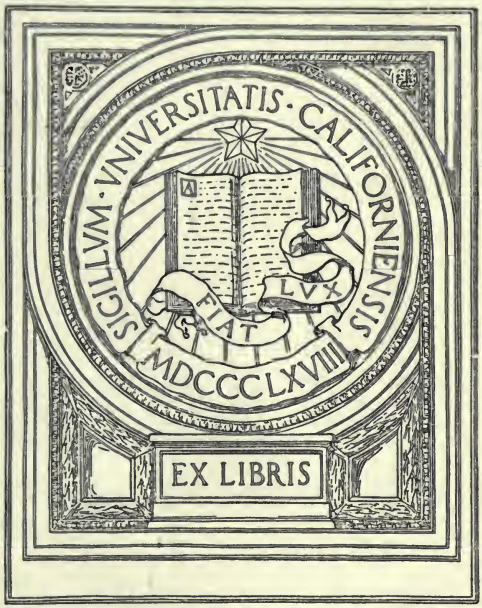
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MEMORIALS

OF

WILLIAM SMITH SHAW.

BY

JOSEPH B. FELT.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Nec sibi sed totí genitum se credere mundo.—LUCAN.

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MEMORIALS

OF

WILLIAM SMITH SHAW.

CHAPTER I.

Parentage — Childhood — Entrance into College — Events while there — Becomes Secretary to President Adams — Correspondence.

Prosperous life is the great attraction of earth. It is fair to the eye and pleasant to the soul. But, like all temporal loans from the bounty of Providence, it has an end. Whether it close amid clouds or the full-orbed light of faith, is a problem, which the experience of every living person must soon solve. However strong and dear the ties between relatives and friends, they have never ceased to be severed in the progress of time. Whatever be the character or condition of our whole race, they all "await alike the inevitable hour." Many of those, with whom we have been thus united, have passed away to the scenes of immortality. We often think on them in their disembodied state. We wish, that, ere we close our probationary course, something more permanent than the fading traditions of

memory alone, may survive them and preserve their names from oblivion.

This inclination is an inseparable element of our nature. Like every other of our endowments, it may be properly indulged. When so employed, it is often the spring of recollections, sympathies and applications, which, however shaded with sadness, afford us refined and improving satisfaction.

Such a bias exhibits itself in various forms and directions. Hence, the simple stone, the "storied urn," the "animated bust," and the trophied tomb have long been lettered with annals of the dead. Hence the publication of literary remains, left by the departed. An adventure of this kind, meets with diversity of reception. Strangers to the deceased, for whom it is made, are not expected to regard it with any special interest. Others, differently related to them, welcome it, as a benevolent memento, and give it a share of their perusal, thoughts and conversation. Thus likely to fare in a community of circles, each having its centre of attachment, and its divergences of preference, the subsequent offering is presented. May they who meet the work with favor, derive from its pages, impressions and influences, both pleasant and beneficial.

The parents of William Smith Shaw were John and Elizabeth Shaw. His father was son of the Rev. John Shaw, of Bridgewater, and was settled in the ministry at Haverhill, Massachusetts; possessed good intellectual powers, and was eminent

for his classical taste and acquirements; for his beneficence and piety. His mother was daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth; was deservedly ranked among the superior of her sex, for talents, attainments, usefulness and character.

Blessed with such parents, he was born August 12, 1778. Trained up to youth under their care and tuition, he was amid constant influences, which deeply impressed his mind with noble views and purposes. He very early discovered a strong attachment for books. Able to read before he could distinctly articulate the name of them, nothing afforded him greater pleasure, than some little volume, suited to his comprehension. Even while engaged in the labor of learning to spell, he would often repeat the words, "My book and heart shall never part," and his countenance denoted the deep sincerity of his speech.

Of the many perils, seen and unseen, from which the hand of Providence delivers childhood, was one which liked to have suddenly terminated his life, August, 1786. Skipping across the yard of his father's residence, and fearless of danger, his neck is caught in a low clothes-line, and it nearly suffocates him. His wind-pipe is much injured, his spine greatly wrenched, and he seems almost lifeless for twelve hours. The occurence brings a cloud over the whole family circle, but a minute or or two after he left them amid the light of joy and hope.

Not naturally robust, and constitutionally subject to rheumatic attacks, he was occasionally called, in

his boyhood, to lay aside his studies and endure the trials of sickness.

Relative to this and his early bias for historical incidents, his mother writes to her sister Cranch, at Quincy, February 6, 1787, "William has had such a cough, I kept him in the house eight or ten days, but that he dislikes very much. He sits by me and says, 'Please give my love to aunt and cousin, and tell them we have not caught Capt. Shays[1] yet.'"

Among the early counsels of relatives, who cared for his highest welfare, were those of his grandfather Shaw.[2] This divine writes him a letter, August 4, 1790, which he kept as a precious remembrancer. As one cleared mostly from worldly influences, and sustained chiefly by religious consolations, he impresses on his grandson the importance of acquiring thorough knowledge, of associating with none but virtuous companions in college, of submission to the regulations of its officers, of sustaining a Christian character, and of daily prayer for influences of the Holy Spirit, as the best aid to successful study and the performance of every obligation.

In addition to his ill health, one of his ancles is greatly injured. This occurs April, 1791, while he is playing in his father's yard, by catching his foot in the cavity where a post had stood. It gives him a lameness, which accompanied him through life.

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[1] He headed the insurgents of Massachusetts at this time.

[2] He died April 29, 1791, æt. 82.

In another letter of Mrs. Shaw to her sister Mary, November 15, 1791, we have the ensuing anecdote. "William was very inquisitive to know, if I were not going to make pies for thanksgiving. I replied, How can I, since your poor leg is so painful? He answered, 'Why, mamma, should not I be thankful, that they are not both so.' It was a lesson to me, and I said, I hoped he was sincere."

While thus considerate of affliction, he is referred to in the subsequent extracts from the same correspondence, February 5, 1792. "I despair of his leg's ever being in proper shape. I hope some way may be found out for him to be useful in life. I pray that he may be *good*, and then I shall be satisfied, and think all my care and anxiety amply recompensed." These are sentiments, which only the best of mothers can realize. Piety and usefulness, in this erring world, are among the highest essentials of character, which any parents can wish for their children.

March 29. "Next week completes a year, since my son met with his misfortune. I have bathed his foot once or twice a day ever since. He has had a very painful winter;" been "stiff in his neck, and all his limbs; so it was with great difficulty that he could move out of his chair. His whole system is debilitated. He thinks he should be a most unhappy creature, if it were not for his eyes. He takes pleasure in studying, and we have been surprised to see what a lesson he would get, though starting with pain, as if a needle was running through him every few minutes. I once had

a prospect of thinking he would be a comfort to us all, more especially to his sisters; but now, poor child, he must want the means of affording that protection, which I know his affectionate heart would be glad to afford. Perhaps no one ever had a greater dread of being useless, or seeing a person so, than myself; yet this is, I fear, to be the condition, in a great measure, of my only son, my first-born. He is really, my sister, a fine, dutiful child."

May 27. "I desire to be thankful that my dear William Smith's health is better. I commit him to your sisterly care for a time. I have charged him to give you as little trouble as possible. I know he will want to walk and drive about as fast as if nothing was the matter. I wish you would learn him to move with moderation. I dare say he will be obedient to you in every thing. He has taken a great deal of mercury. I hope he will never be obliged to take more. I have given it to him with fear and trembling." After a delightful visit of several weeks, in which his health was much improved, he returned to the home of intelligence, love and harmony.

1793, May 3. "Poor William longs for the salt water air and the agreeable rides he had at Quincy. Poor, dear, limping boy, how many inconveniences must thou suffer! Faith, hope and grace kindly step in to my aid, repel the rising sigh and wipe the falling tear."

With all the emotions of hope and fear, which fill the hearts of worthy parents, when their chil-

dren are on the point of important changes in their course of preparation for adult life, the writer expresses her thoughts.

1794, July 13. "This will be a week of anxiety both to Mr. Shaw[1] and to me. For though scholars may be ever so well fitted, yet they may be so intimidated at the time of examination, as to make but a poor figure. Mr. Shaw's fears are not for William Smith or William Austin, so much as for cousin John. They are now going through this die, the first they ever cast for themselves. May they succeed, and Heaven guard and preserve them." Speaking of a room-mate, his mother proceeds, "William would be very unhappy, if he did not live with one of a kind, studious temper. I know his future conduct and happiness depend much upon what many might think of little importance; but I view every thing of consequence, which may influence and give a stamp to his future life, and what can do it more than an intimate companion."

Having entered Cambridge college, he, of course, had the accustomed care and anxiety of obtaining a room there, which would be most free from the annoyances, which a freshman is too apt to receive from disorderly students, and most suited for his comfort in study. It seems, that, on this occasion, he applied to a discreet young man, Jonathan French,[2] of Andover. This person writes to him, July 25,

[1] He not only fitted his son for college, but others, some of whom have been eminent.

[2] Now in the ministry at Northampton, N. H.

1794, "I saw Mr. Stone,[1] the tutor, on Wednesday, who informed me you had obtained a room, but that as there were but seven to be disposed of, the government, in their wisdom, had thought fit to put *four* in a room." However necessary this provision was, it would be deemed too close a stowage for sprigs of literature in our day, when their collegiate accommodations are so much improved. While engaged in the first quarter's studies of his class, wherein proper ambition begins to experience the test of its talents and the hopes and fears as to its success,—he is often the subject of parental thought, conversation and prayer.

A letter from his mother, September 1, furnishes the following extracts. "I need not recommend to you the necessity of diligence and application to your studies. I think you know the importance of it, especially for you, who are to provide a maintenance for yourself in the professional way. No one ever made a figure in life without it; the riches, the beauties of science are deep, and must be sought for. You used to love to come and sit with me after study, and now I hope you will employ some of your moments in writing to your mother with confidence in her affection for you. Write a little every day. It will be very pleasing to me, and then you can have something always ready to send me. It will teach you to methodize and collect your thoughts." Precious is such advice to absent children. It is impressed on their minds,

[1] Rev. Micah Stone, was settled at Brookfield, where he still resides.

is consolation for their trials of distance from home, is pleasant to their recollections, encouraging to their best efforts and generally influential for good, on their subsequent motives and life. The duty, which prompts, and the success which often follows it, may well secure its continuance.

The same parent continues her wise counsel. In setting before him the example of a worthy person,[1] she made the subsequent remark. "It is worth the while to be kind, wise and virtuous, if it were only to receive the sincere tribute offered to real merit. A good man has always higher and nobler motives for action. The esteem of the world must be only a secondary motive, and allowed its proper influence upon our conduct." This is sound advice, sanctioned by the experience of its disciples, and commanded by the teachings of inspiration. It cannot be too much inculcated on the young, who are to find, that no other basis of character can render them permanently beneficial to community, and afford them inward peace amid the smiles and frowns of life.

Soon, the subject of this memoir is called to mourn the sudden decease of his father, which occurred September 29, to whom his affections cleaved with much strength. To one of his deep, filial sensibility, such a trial must have been severe. Deprived of his principal dependence, in the removal of a parent, whose generous sympathies for the

[1] William Cranch, who had practiced law in Haverhill. He boarded in his uncle Shaw's family, and was about to establish himself at the South. He soon went thither, and has long been known as Judge of the Circuit Court in the District of Columbia.

needy, left little of his salary to meet the expenditure of the son's education, he could not but have had his fears redoubled lest his literary course must be forsaken. Dark, at times, is the prospect of all students, who are apparently left with no resource but their own struggles. However such necessity may lead to the development of unrealized energies, and often tend to the formation of estimable character, still, ere its beneficial results are learned, it is a heavy burden on the spirits and exertions of its subjects. Each heart, thus situated, knows its own sorrows. Help for it, at such a period, is like the bright sun emerging from dark and stormy clouds. Thus deprived of fatherly watchfulness, Mr. Shaw was doubly the object of his mother's solicitude.

October 29. Her words are, "I think about you hourly, and bear you upon my mind at the throne of grace. I wish for no blessing myself so much as for you and your dear sisters. I think I should scarcely have a wish to continue in this vale of tears, were it not for the hope of being useful to my children and more qualified, by suffering, for higher degrees of perfection in a better world. My son, you are bound by every tie upon earth, to conduct wisely. Pray earnestly, that you may be kept from temptation and delivered from evil. Let conscience determine. That will be your judge and advocate at the court of Heaven, where no further appeal can be made. God grant that it may never condemn you." Advice, so disinterested, so requisite amid youthful perils, so applicable to our spiritual necessities at all times, in every condition and pursuit,

was highly appreciated by him, as most sacred. Concerning his deportment at Cambridge, a matter of great importance to parents, whose children are away from their immediate supervision, she observes, "I feel unspeakable pleasure in finding your conduct approved."

November 13. As indicative of the mode in which he acquired knowledge, his mother's letter says, "By the pleasure you take in being instructed, I hope you will be qualified and enabled to instruct others." In reference to such as had become interested in his welfare, she remarks, "Though your earthly parent is taken from you, yet you have a Heavenly Parent, who is able to supply all your wants, and who has raised you up many friends. If you behave well, I hope they will be continued to you, and you be a blessing to them." For the kindness of such benefactors, his heart always beat with the warmest gratitude. According to the benevolent disposition and action, for which he was remarkable, we have the words of the same faithful mentor to him.

December 3. Referring to the bereaved flock of her departed husband, her language is, "If I can in any way serve this people, I shall consider it both a duty and a pleasure. I have had the happiness of living among them, loving and beloved. Let us endeavor to do good, trusting in the Lord, and 'verily thou shalt be fed.' This is the promise of Him who never fails. Let us cherish the idea, and while it consoles, may it animate us in every worthy pursuit." For all, as well as for him, such precepts

should not be like tracks in the sand, but as imperishable inscriptions on the tablets of the heart.

1795, March 31. Another epistle from the same hand remarks to him: "I am glad it is not your disposition to be ostentatious of your knowledge, or to give your opinion unasked. It would have given your father and me pain to have seen you bold or conceited. An attentive, modest, respectful manner of behavior is ever pleasing, especially in those of your age." Thus speaking of his deportment, it reverts to his studies, "Your father thought it essential that you should have a good understanding of the classics, as a foundation upon which you must build all your other learning. I know you feel too much respect for his memory, not to follow his advice, as far as you are able. Committing our thoughts to paper makes us more attentive, more close observers. Every thing which obliges us to think, meditate, and reflect, must be of service. Still, there is a time for all things. I would not only have you read, but be very judicious in the choice of your authors, that you may select and lay up treasures in your mind, which may be brought forth at your pleasure and never be subject to decay." Invaluable were such repeated precepts for a youth launched on a perilous voyage in search of knowledge, from affections ever warm, from a mind ever abundant in pure and elevated thought.

June 29. From studies we turn to fashion in dress. As an indication, that collegians continued the custom of wearing "small clothes," his mother says, that she will send him a pair of black ones.

While on this topic, she often mentioned to him the importance of persevering in habits of cleanliness and neatness in attire, as productive of some influence on the character of the mind, as well as of repute with the world.

To guard him against too much dependence on present good standing, so as to neglect the means for its continuance in future, she observes,

August 17. "There has been many a modest, virtuous freshman, who has become a very licentious senior. I mention this, my son, that they whose characters now stand fair, may be always watching over themselves, examining impartially their own conduct, that their mothers' hearts may not have cause for heaviness, nor they blast the pleasing expectations, which their early, amiable deportment had raised."

1796, July 3. On the occasion of his having passed through nearly one-half of the collegiate ordeal, she thus writes to him. "You say that two years have almost elapsed since you have resided at the seat of the muses. I hope, upon a retrospect, you will find that you have advanced many degrees in the scale of literature, and are so filling up your time in performing the various duties of a scholar, that when you come into life, you may be a useful and valuable member of society. Diligence and perseverance should be your motto, and that of every youth who wisely covets the best gifts. But however justifiable the acquisition of knowledge may be, yet there is danger of crowding the mind, which instead of promoting hinders its growth.

There is an analogy between the body and mind. By repletion, the energies of the former are cramped; so with those of the latter."

July 27. Among the letters of Mr. Shaw, who was in Haverhill, is one from Richard Sullivan[1] of Boston. It speaks of several subjects, then receiving much public attention. Of these were the book, called "The Man of Feeling;" the absorbing topic of politics; the progress of the theatre in the metropolis, and Mrs. Williamson as its principal star.

September 5. Having returned to Cambridge, maternal counsels still communed with him. They follow: "I watch your words and conduct, not with the severe eyes of a critic, but with the tender, affectionate solicitude of a mother, concerned for your present and future well-being; who is not only desirous of your deserving, but also retaining a good name, which the wisest of men has pronounced 'better than precious ointment.' It is a herald which will be of great service. It will insure you a kind reception wherever Providence may lead you, especially among the worthy. We should not only do good deeds, my son, but by our prudent, open conduct, evince to all, that we are actuated by good principles and aim at good ends. I am always alarmed when I hear any one say, that he cares not for the opinion of the world. We are all too dependent on our fellow-creatures, for the necessaries and comforts of life, to say this with impunity. It

[1] Still living in Boston, of the legal profession.

is true, we ought not to regard the opinion of the world, when it comes in competition with our duty; but that is seldom the case. Individuals oftener err, than the whole community. In general, the world is a competent judge of character. Therefore, the common voice ought to be regarded with particular attention. He who cares not for a good name, seldom deserves it, and soon becomes odious to society."

Sept. 30. On the subject of politics, Mr. John Vose[1] thus addresses him: "It is now a time for Federalists to exert themselves, Washington being about to retire from public life, though not from the heart of the good citizen."

November 27. With regard to a letter, just received from Mr. Shaw, his mother answered it as follows. "I am sorry to hear of the sickness at college. I do not wonder that you were struck with a deep sense of the uncertainty of life, when you saw so many of your companions suddenly snatched from you by the unrelenting hand of death. We must not forget, that 'dying friends are angels, sent on errands full of love.' It is for us to improve every providence to some good moral purpose."

December 1. His elder friend, Vose, again remarks in a letter to him, "Our political hemisphere is at present unclouded. True, Mr. Adet[2] has tried

[1] Preceptor of Atkinson Academy, N. H., died April 3, 1840, æt. 73.

[2] Minister from the French Republic, suspected, as his predecessor Genet, was, of stepping aside from his proper duties, to influence Americans. He resigned here, November 15, 1796.

to condense the vapor for a storm. May it blow off with him."

1797, January 10. His mother, in writing to him about a plan which Mr. White [1] and he proposed but did not execute, for traveling through a large part of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, observes, "It is in the common affairs of life, that we discover our natural tempers, and by our management of these, persons judge how we shall conduct in affairs of greater importance. However small and trifling things may appear at first view, yet whatever tends to form a habit, ought to be regarded as of the utmost consequence." From the same communication, he appears to have begun a school at Weymouth. We quote its language on this subject: "The business, in which you are now engaged, will show you the necessity of order, not I hope, by the want of it, but by its beneficial influences. I hope, my son, you have endeavored to be exact as to your time, and to discharge with fidelity the important office of teaching youth. It should be your first object to gain their love and respect, by showing them that you are seeking their good; then you can more easily refine their manners and improve their minds. They who teach others, should be particularly cautious, in every respect, as to their own behavior. Let me entreat you, my son, to set a double guard over yourself, at this period of life, and beware of those sins, which more easily beset youth. Ten thousand

[1] Judge Daniel White, of Salem, in the class before Mr. Shaw.

snares, gilded with novelty, await you. May Heaven preserve you from natural, but more especially from every moral evil. The first can only injure the body, but the latter destroys the soul." With regard to the amusement of card-playing, which was on the increase in the community, the same watchful parent expressed herself: "How few can say, I have gone no further—I have a complete command over myself—my reason is never overcome—I have never spent my parents' interest by gaming—I have never played for drink—I have never felt my passions irritated, nor have been provoked to utter profane oaths? How few, my son, can say this with truth? How much oftener than otherwise, has many an innocent, inexperienced youth, who thought nothing of turning a few pieces of paper, been drawn in by some veterans of mischief, and plunged into a labyrinth of misery? From small beginnings, our greatest evils often arise. Therefore, as you value the peace of a fond mother, your own interest, usefulness and happiness, and the approbation of your God, avoid every thing which may tend to form an improper habit; flee from it as a pestilence, a destruction, that will assuredly waste."

February 6. In reference to the benevolence, which his aunt[1] showed him while in his first experiment of instruction, his mother says, "I hope you evince your gratitude to her by a most careful attention to her counsel. The law of kindness dwells upon her lips." With respect to his com-

[1] The wife of President John Adams.

pensation for such employment; "The coldness of the weather and the badness of the traveling must have made your earnings very hardly gained. I hope it will teach you how to use it prudently. It is a proverb, that they who earn money, know how to spend it wisely. It is the first of your earning, and that will attach to it a peculiar value." Relative to his expenditures; "Exact accounts, receipts and prudence, is a duty highly incumbent on you."

March 24. Concerning some disorderly students, the same hand sends the timely advice: "When we know and are apprised of danger, it is wise in us to keep a strong sentinel—to double our guard. The time is fast approaching, when some of your society are to bid a farewell to the university, while many of them conduct, as if they meant to bid a perpetual farewell to reason, good sense, virtue, decorum, and every species of propriety. I hope, my dear son, you will not join with a multitude to do evil. Do nothing which in your retired moments conscience cannot approve, or with which you would be ashamed to have your best friends acquainted."

September 24. Respecting a remark, which Mr. Shaw made to his mother, that collegians too much neglected their personal appearance and the civilities of refined manners among themselves, her reply is, "If the observation is just, I think the better part of the students should immediately begin a reformation. They should be polite, cautious how they injure each other's feelings, be neat in their chambers, and properly respectful to every one. Thus

benevolence and virtue will be ripened into a confirmed habit."

1798, January 2. Among the correspondents and classmates of Mr. Shaw was Arthur M. Walter, of Boston. The latter describes some of the leading topics as to European politics. He states, that news had just come of the probability that our Envoy, Mr. Pinckney, would be "obliged to quit France. Bonaparte is to command an army to be called the army of England, destined to act against that country. The French have issued a proclamation wherein they express their confidence of success. I am in no fear of the conquest of Britain. In that Island men and manners, laws and liberty, are powerful interests."

January 15. Mr. Shaw, in his reply to this friend, mentions that he had received a package containing Phocion, Gifford, and Erskine's speeches on the trial of Williams for publishing Paine's "Age of Reason," and many of Porcupine's papers. He observes, "I am sorry that you did not read them before you sent them to me. You would not have been less pleased with Peter's genuine humor, than with the independence, sound judgment, and eloquent style of Gifford. Mr. E., I suspect, is a much better Christian than a politician. G. opposes facts to declamation, and proofs to bare assertion. E. has said, that "religion was not exposed to any degree of danger from the French revolution and its principles which its votaries proclaimed." In answer to this, G. says, "You are wholly ignorant of the proceedings, which have passed in France, not

only on many political, but on all religious topics, for you reason like a man who has just awaked from a seven years' sleep."

Porcupine[1] is shooting his quills as usual. He is very severe against Russel, tells him that he believes he gained his knowledge of the law of nations from Adet's Political Blunderbuss. Poor man, says he, "If you know no more of the laws of God than you do of the law of nations, I am afraid you are in a desperate way." Referring to the conduct of France, he says, "The follies and vices of the French have succeeded one another so closely, I should think it would even puzzle the recording angel to write them down." In answer to some observations of Walter on honors, as usually conferred, he said, "Give me no other greatness than that of the soul, no other riches than those of the mind."

January 20. In reply, Walter touched on the severity with which Porcupine had attacked Benjamin Franklin, for being too much under French influence. He relates that he had lately visited Newport, R. I. "One thing struck me very disagreeably. As I entered the town, I perceived a tree, fenced round with painted rails, and 'Tree of Equality' inscribed upon the fence." His objection to it was its aping of the French, who were in general, then trying to level all distinctions in the most unrighteous mode.

January 23. Mr. Shaw answers and mentions his

[1] William Cobbett.

interest in a work on the French revolution by a lady,[1] and translated by Gifford, as a production of much talent and merit.

January 29. Walter sends back that he recently had a letter from Peter Porcupine, who said that his work was taken by nearly three thousand subscribers. He says "Fauchet's[2] pamphlet excites no alarm and creates no distrust. Pickering's masterly letter,[3] though written before, is a complete answer to it. The general supposition is, that our Commissioners (in Paris) will not accomplish their objects. If so, I trust every patriot will rally round our rights and defend our constitution with courage and success."

April 21. He states, that there is in the Boston post-office, a pamphlet for Shaw, entitled "What is our situation and what our prospects? By an American."

June 24. The latter thus expresses himself, "Yes, Walter, I am more and more convinced, that there are secret societies established, disseminating themselves over the world, whose object is to abolish all religion and government. Some time since, a most respectable gentleman abroad, wrote home, that there was a society in Germany, Prussia, and France who called themselves Theophilanthropists.

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[1] Helen Maria Williams published on this subject in 1791 and 1794.

[2] Joseph Fauchet, ex-minister from France to the United States. His pamphlet, dated September 2, 1797, is on the relations of the former nation to the latter.

[3] Reply in 1797 to a piece, published by the Spanish Minister to our Government.

They preach up a theological and political mixture of deism, morality and anti-Christianity. The society is under the special protection of the French Directory. Lepaux is one of its founders. He is a bitter enemy to Christianity, against which he has written many dissertations. Dupont, father of the late rejected Consul, is coming to America, with an intention to establish one of these societies in this country. The letter alluded to, was written before Dr. Robertson's book was published. I have left with Buckminster,[1] for your perusal, the life of Charles Fox. I read it last week. It is well worth your attention. You will find likewise with him, D'Ivernois's Reflections on the System of the French Government."

June 27. Walter, writing to him of Buckminster, then in Cambridge college, says, "There is something in his manner and disposition which irresistibly attracts, and something in his intelligence and way of communication, which captivates and conquers."

July 20. Shaw addresses Walter: "The French will be disappointed in perceiving that the passiveness of Americans is now waking from its lethargy. Washington's appearance at the head of our armies must 'electrify every bosom' in his country's cause. Under his banners, 'though perils should abound as thick as thought could make them, and appear in forms more horrid,' who can contend otherwise than valiantly?"

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[1] Joseph S. Buckminster.

Relative to his having been chosen as the private secretary to President John Adams, Mr. Shaw's mother had, previously to this time, sent him advice fitted to such a trust. Her words were, "It was the counsel of an experienced father, when his son was going to travel in Spain and Italy, to keep his countenance open, but his thoughts close. And you, my dear son, in the department you are preparing for, will find silence, secrecy and circumspection, even to preciseness, in your conversation, absolutely necessary. Compliance with the injunction, 'Be swift to hear and slow to speak,' will save you from shame and a thousand heart-aches. As you enter into life, you will be more and more convinced of this melancholy truth, that artful disguises, specious shows of friendship, falsehood and deceit are prevalent in every circle."

July 25. Being at Quincy, Shaw receives a letter from Buckminster at Waltham, about Commencement affairs. "Channing's[1] oration was received with great applause. It was characterized with that nervous expression, which has ever stamped his writings. His delivery was admirable." "Kirkland's[2] oration before the Phi Beta Kappa was solid, political, spirited and ingenious. It is printed."

August 9. Walter communicates his views on the subject of not receiving a degree, at Harvard, because he declined to perform the part assigned to him. He also states, that he regrets the subject has gotten into the newspapers; that he shall study in

[1] William E. Channing.

[2] John T. Kirkland, subsequently Pres. of Harvard University.

New York till May, then be examined for a degree, and in the fall, embark for Europe. Speaking of the purpose which France had declared, to invade England, he remarks, "There is a God in heaven who will never suffer the garden of the Hesperides to become an extensive sand waste. If proud France wishes to 'make cowards of us all,' we will oppose Adams to Talleyrand and Washington to Bonaparte." In reference to performances at Commencement, he observes, Channing's "Present Age" was excellent, though unpolished. He drew his pictures of France, Germany, Spain, England and America, like a young Apelles. He expected to have had a school at Portland, but he has received no answer to his letter. He said that he should go to Newport soon, and continue his studies till an opportunity should offer for the exertion of his abilities. God bless him. Longfellow[1] is in an office at Portland, very happy. He wishes you would write to him. Buckminster is at Waltham this vacation. He has written me once. He tells me of the beauty of Mr. Lyman's situation, of the pastures, cataracts, fish-ponds, besides the sister deities of the place. He is a lovely fellow, and I wish him well with all my heart. Story's[2] "Reason" was beautiful poetry. It is publishing in this town. Spalding's[3] Conference is justly esteemed one of the best performances. Kirkland's oration is mas-

[1] Stephen Longfellow, of the legal profession in Portland, Me., died August 6, 1849, æt. 73.

[2] Late Judge Joseph Story.

[3] Physician at Chelmsford, and then of Amherst, N. H.

terly." Leaving these concerns, he mentions sickness in Boston. "The yellow fever is in the town. Two or three or more die every day. The people are moving out as fast as possible."

1798, August 31. A correspondent of Mr. Shaw mentions to him an item of dress, and, at the same time, a political badge. This was the black cockade, as expressive of favor for federal principles and the English, while the tri-colored was so for democratic policy and the French.

September 2. His mother says to her sister Cranch, "I hope my son will do well. May he be properly sensible of the price put into his hands. I hope he is attentive to his uncle's business, and remembers, that his time is now not his own, but another's."

Sept. 3. Shaw informs Walter, that the reason of his suspended correspondence were the calls of his new office. He mentions several political subjects as follows: Talleyrand had inquired of Mr. Gerry[1] who were the persons designated by W, X, Y and Z.[2] Thomas Paine edited a paper in France.

Sept. 9. Walter replies, "Gerry and Talleyrand's correspondence seem to occupy the reflections of the public mind. Our government was certainly wise in publishing the dispatches. Pinckney and Marshall are safe ;[3] they have produced excellent effects in America, and you inform me they have spread like wild-fire in Europe. Deluded Frenchmen are

[1] Elbridge Gerry, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

[2] French writers, said to have been Hottinger, M. Bellamy, and M. Hauteval. [3] Dispatches.

prevented from perusing them by the artful intrigues of the Directory. I trust they will soon open their eyes and exert their energies in procuring liberty by the downfall of the present despotism and the erection of a happy constitution. Our business is with ourselves. If we can keep from the arts of this foe, I care not for her arms. I do not see any thing remarkable in the intercepted letters of Priestly." Concerning the yellow fever, "Boston is a little infected with this most dreadful disorder, but it declines in number and virulence, while our accounts from Philadelphia are dreaful."

September 24. An epistle from his mother, speaks of her afflictive discipline, especially in relation to the recent decease of her daughter.[1] It adds, "The road of life is devious, dangerous, thorny and rugged. You may depend on this as a certain truth, my son, that nothing but religion, the bright prospect of a better world, a conscience void of offence toward God and man, can support us and cheer the gloomy vale. With such a protection, we may be wounded, but not dismayed; we may be shaken, but not overthrown."

October 7. He sends a communication to Walter. Some of its contents follow. "Why did you not come to see me the afternoon after you went to Squantum? I had placed the English papers on the middle of the table and a chair by the side of it for you, expecting every moment to see you enter. Demourier, in his pamphlet, thinks there must

[1] Elizabeth Quincy Shaw, born May 26, 1780, died September 4, 1798.

be a universal peace or a general war in Europe very soon. We have no more reason to expect permanent peace, than I have that I should be obeyed were I to command the rain, which now most violently beats in at my windows, to cease, and the wind, which now seems as if it would blow down every thing around me, 'to gently kiss the trees and make no noise.' The conduct of the French Directory exemplifies the maxim of Plutarch, 'Add power to passion, and there is no wild beast so savage as man.' Mr. Humphreys informed me, that half of the people in France would rejoice to have Bonaparte for their king. The ladies of Paris have likenesses of the late King and Queen stamped on their fans so that they are not visible unless placed in a particular position to the light."

He receives a letter, mailed 10th, from William E. Channing, at Newport, R. I. It expresses the sentiments of its author, in the eloquent style for which he was noted. Speaking of his friendly intercourse with Mr. Shaw, while in college, it remarks, "I still remember your social fire in winter, how we collected round it for social converse; our walks by moonlight, how we strolled over the common or took the solitary road to the Judge's. The memory of these days will ever be fresh within me." It turns to another quarter. "There is a beach about a mile from the town. Here I go once a day. I never saw such grandeur as the wild scenery of nature here presents. The towering and craggy rocks, the roar of the waves, the foam with which they dash on the shore, and the bound-

less ocean before you, all contribute to inspire with awe and rapture." It takes a different theme. "I am on the point of changing my mode of life.[1] A field has opened for exertion. I trust that my burdens will be no heavier than I can bear, and as I wipe the sweat from my brow, I shall be cheered when I think that the struggles which I make, are the struggles of honest industry." It proceeds. "I suppose you know the profession which I mean to follow. Yes, Shaw, I shall be a minister, a shepherd of the flock of Jesus. My hold on life is feeble. I look forward to a better country. While I am journeying toward it myself, I wish to lead others the same way. I know, Shaw, that you revere religion. I wish that, in your political career, you would sometimes look beyond the strifes, crimes and intrigues of nations, to the harmony and blessedness of Christian piety in another state. We shall take different courses in life, but we shall meet in the grave. We shall bow before the same tribunal, and, I trust, shall rejoice forever in the same heaven. You will think that I have grown quite ministerial; but, believe me, I cherished the same sentiments in college, as I now do. In my view, religion is but another name for happiness. I am most cheerful, when I am most religious."

October 18. Another communication from the same hand. "I wish to write you a few lines in behalf of my friend Wainwright. You know his

[1] Teaching school at Richmond, Va.

merits. He has this day arrived at Newport, and communicated to me his determination to enter the navy. Should a midshipman's berth become vacant, could you not represent him as a person worthy of that post. It appears to me that he will one day rise to a command in the navy. He is all resolution, all soul, all head. To-morrow I set sail for Virginia. Ah Shaw! the parting tear will flow."

October 30. A letter from John Vose. It reverts to the decease of Mr. Shaw's sister, previously mentioned. "Never was a person more truly lamented than your dear departed sister. Ten thousand silent tears bedew her memory." It speaks of military preparation. "Gov. Gilman has lately ridden the circuit of the State to review the several regiments. His presence has reanimated expiring discipline. Should France land an army on our territory, they would find that dreary forests and snow-topped mountains are not the only barriers to oppose their conquest." It refers to pecuniary affairs. "A scarcity of cash still prevails in this part of the country. This has originated thousands of lawsuits."

Walter to Shaw, October 24. "I am going to hear the Chronicle printer tried for sedition." November 3. "I know not how to express the indignation I feel respecting Logan's embassy. It is an unjustifiable attack on the constituted authorities of our country. What if we do wish for peace, must it be purchased at the expense of honor."

The writer had begun to compose a Romance, entitled, "The Castle of Madiæ."

As an instance of the civilities shown the head of the general government, when they held their sessions in Philadelphia, the following is given. November 21. "Mr. Dallas[1] presents his compliments to the private Secretary of the President. The Governor and militia officers propose to pay a respectful visit to the President, to welcome him to the seat of government on Tuesday next; and Mr. Dallas is requested to obtain information at what hour it will be convenient to receive the compliment."

Nov. 26. Walter's letter from the city of New York states, that he had entered Columbia college, to be there a few months, for a degree.

Nov. 28. William E. Channing writes from Richmond, Va. "Yours of October 15, reached me November 15. I thank you from my heart for your kind attention. And you have lost a sister! I will not direct you to the source of consolation. You have found it already. You have applied the healing balm of religion to your wounds, and blessed the heavenly Physcian, whose bleeding body was nailed to the cross to procure you such relief. You may see from my letter the warmth, with which I have embraced the Christian cause. Would to God that I could resign every worldly prospect, and bend my whole soul to improvement in religion and the diffusion of the truths of the gospel. It cuts me to the heart to see the con-

[1]Alexander James Dallas, Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania.

tempt with which the name and the worship of the "Majesty of heaven" are treated by the generality of mankind. Do we not offer a new cup of gall to our crucified Saviour! Are we not as inhuman as the Jews? Do we not plat, like them, a crown of thorns for the head of the Redeemer. They despised him, and were ashamed to acknowledge him." The communication then replies to some remarks of Mr. Shaw on the absorbing subject of French policy. It then proceeds. "I rejoice with you, my friend, at the Victory of Nelson. Old England, forever!" He mentions the signification, in which the term Jacobin, was generally received, "as synonomous with a dishonest, immoral, factious and disorganizing man." It discusses the alien and sedition bills, and the dread lest the country should be brought to crouch at the feet of France.

December 12. Shaw, in Philadelphia, to Walter. Speaking of his journey to this city: "I found that, all the way, in Massachusetts, great prejudices had been excited against the land tax." He mentions a letter from Joel Barlow, in Paris, to Baldwin, the brother-in-law of his wife, as being too much for the subserviency of our country to France. He adds, "Mr. Barlow, I am told, has published a new edition of his Vision of Columbus, and has expunged every line and word respecting his God and his religion. All this, you see, is the effect of French philosophy."

December 19. Walter states that William Austin, their classmate, had consulted with his father in

Boston about going as schoolmaster and chaplain on board the Constitution. He went in her.

December 21. Shaw to William E. Channing in Richmond. "Yours respecting Wainwright, I received a little before I left Quincy. I have spoken to the Secretary of the Navy respecting him, and feel certain that he may obtain his wish. Dr. Logan is chosen, by a large majority, representative to the Legislature of this State. The day he took his seat, it so happened that there was a new carpet placed on the floor of the house. The Aurora, the morning after, said that the Legislature of Pennsylvania, pleased with Logan's late conduct, and wishing every possible attention should be paid to him, had ordered a new carpet to be placed on the floor. What will the French Directory say to this, that Logan returns home and is honored with a seat in the Legislature! His interference is no new thing. Charles Fox sent a Mr. Adair, as his representative, in '92 or '93, with his cipher to St. Petersburgh, there to frustrate the objects, for which the minister from the crown was authorized to treat. He succeeded in his design. But this principle will never do. It is subversive of all good order and government. By the Eastern mail of this day we have had right glorious news, which seems to gladden every heart. A vessel arrived at Newburyport, fifty-six days from Hamburgh, brings accounts of the total defeat of Bonaparte and the destruction of his transports. I enclose you the paper containing the information. The Aurora is carried on with more inveteracy and ill-humor than ever. It is conducted by one Duane,

an Englishman. He was author of a scandalous letter to General Washington, while President, signed Jasper Dwight. Extracts from it were published in the Centinel. They have lately republished from a Virginia paper some letters, addressed to General Marshall, signed Curtius. Do you know the author? Some one sent the President an excellent pamphlet on the sedition and alien bills, published at Richmond. I think you must have read it. Do you know the writer? The more I think of these bills, the more I am convinced of their propriety and necessity. Indeed, I cannot conceive of a government's existing long without laws to prevent the licentiousness of the press."

Dec. 22. Shaw to Walter: "Congress, as yet, have done little or nothing. Harper's resolution to publish the alien and sedition bills, excited some warmth. Gallatin rose to speak, as I went into the House, for the first time, but I could scarcely understand a word he uttered. What, said I to myself, can there be in the Legislature of my country an individual, whose pronunciation is so broken as not to be understood?

"You must have heard that there are a number of Indians in the city. On Monday they came to see the President, being five large, tall, and as good looking men as I ever saw. Had Buffon and the Abbe Raynal been present, they would have blushed for their assertion, that man was belittled in America. Some of their sentences forcibly struck me. They were these, 'Brother, although we are in your house, and sheltered from the cold winds, still

we are in the eye of God. From his sight we never can hide ourselves. He is here in this room and hears what we say to you. We may deceive you, but cannot deceive him. Although we are not of the same color with you, brothers, still our hearts are as white as yours.'

"Phocion was written by Mr. Smith,[1] our minister in Portugal."

December 23. Mrs. Adams, at Quincy, writes to Mr. Shaw. Relative to our national affairs, she observes: "I say of America, as Gibbon did of England in the year '92, 'If she, with experience of her own happiness and the knowledge of French perfidy and French calamities, should be seduced to eat the apple of security, she would indeed deserve to be driven from the paradise which she enjoys.' We shall preserve our dignity without craving assistance from the potentates of the old world. The answer of the House will have a happy effect upon the union and politics of the States. It looks as if French influence was sunk very low. It will also have an influence in Europe. I most sincerely wish, that our party bickerings and personal resentments would yield to the great and momentous national interests."

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[1] William Loughton Smith, of South Carolina.

CHAPTER II.

Politics — Separation from the Union—Navy — Southey — Count Rumford—Insurrection in Pennsylvania—Purposes of France—Illuminati—Belsham—Community of Property—Fenelon.

1799, January 10. A letter from Mr. Shaw's mother. "You are now, my son, embarked on the wide ocean of life. Your passage cannot be pleasant nor useful, unless reason be your card and the Christian religion your pole star. This will insure you contentment through the rugged, devious voyage, and safely land you on a happier shore."

A long communication is received the 14th, from Channing. He laments the success of the French against the allies, and ably considers the question of a standing army. His own opinion is, that they had better be disbanded and reliance be placed upon the militia, if need required.

From the same, received 23d. "Did you but know the exquisite happiness which the handwriting of a friend affords me, now that I am so far from home, without one companion of my youth to cheer my social or share my gloomy hours, I am sure, that you would snatch a few moments from sleep or the round of amusements, to scribble me a

letter. You seem anxious to know how I am situated. Very happily, I assure you; as happily as I could be at such a distance from Newport. I have but ten scholars. I finish school before dinner, and all the rest of the day I spend as I choose. I am treated with every attention I can desire. I have a retired room for my study, a lovely plain to walk in; and you know, that under these circumstances, I cannot be miserable. I often look towards the North with a sigh, and think of the scenes I have left behind me. Society becomes more and more insipid. I am tired of the fashionable nonsense, which dins my ear in every circle. I am driven to my book and pen for relief and pleasure." Channing then enters on an eloquent argument as to the best method of improving the condition of our race. He dwells much on the idea of a community of property. At the close, he inquires, "Can we benefit the world? I am willing to sacrifice temporal interest and my brightest prospects" for such an object. With regard to the writers of some productions, he states: "The author of Curtius is James Thompson, of Petersburgh, Va. The author of the pamphlet on the alien and sedition laws, is Mr. Evans, a senator or representative in Congress."

On the subject which has been continually before the public, when the political pulse has beat feverishly, Channing writes, 24th, "You will see the spirit of the Virginia Legislature. There is no doubt that a separation from the Union is intended. Giles is very active and influential."

Jan. 29. Shaw to Walter. "The long wished for dispatches are come. I hope this country will be wisely instructed by the fatal experience of every Republic in Europe, and listen to none of the overtures for peace, made by the French Directory.

> "O Buckingham! beware of yonder dog.
> Look; when he fawns, he bites; and when he bites,
> His venom tooth will rankle to the death."

Jan. 31. As a matter of interest, particularly to the medical profession, Dr. Thomas Welsh, of Boston, writes to Mr. Shaw: "I have sent by Dr. Bartlett the translation of the French dissertation on the late fever. Nancrede, you know, was the translator, but he does not think that he could undertake to print it; and has therefore handed it to me, that it may be forwarded to the gentleman who composed the original, that he may make such use of it as he may think proper. Mr. Brown, who keeps one of the public reading schools in this town, has lately written on the disease a sort of compilation, and I think it probable has made some use of this, as I understand Nancrede let him inspect it."

February 2. A reply of Mrs. Adams (at Quincy) to a description, which Mr. Shaw had given, of the proceedings at "the ball." In this she observed, as to the manners of those who attended, "I always despised the appellation, woman's man. To be a gallant, a man must have a little of the fop." She humorously remarked, as to the President's omission of franking a letter to her, "Though the President and I am one in the eye of the law

and the gospel, I believe Congress would question both of the authorities, and debate a month, if the question were put, Does the privilege of the President extend to his lady, and are letters to her and from her free of postage?"

Feb. 7. Walter's letter from New York. "I trust America is now fully acquainted with the designs of France, and will resent her threats with the spirit of freemen. England is putting forth the strong and hardy buds of national energy. If the other European powers will but assist her in the glorious work, the clay-built fabric of French despotism will fall to the ground. At the same time, I admire the firmness and decision of our Executive, and his clemency in saying, that he is ready to enter on negotiation as soon as the French are willing to send an envoy to this country."

From Samuel B. Malcolm, of New York. "I had expected by this time, that the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy would, if not wholly acquiesced in, at least have been agitated in the House. Convinced that ships are the natural, the most efficacious, and the least expensive defence of our country, I listen to every suggestion for its increase with satisfaction, though the army is no less an object of my devotion. The establishment of the latter is slow. The necessity of an effective force seems urgent, from the late measures of Virginia and Kentucky. All there is not well. The period of Northern and Southern separation will probably come. Still the evil day, I trust, is dis-

tant. The recall of our envoys to France, I rejoice to see accomplished."

Feb. 26. From W. E. Channing. "I am now totally immersed in literature. I have settled a course of reading for three years. I hope at the end of that time to have knowledge enough to enter on the world." He then gives a list of authors and adds, "Tell me what books must be added and what retrenched. What merit has Robertson's North America? Is he, like the sun, more majestic at his setting? What does Fenno's paper mean by talking so much about united Irishmen? Is there any serious apprehension of danger from them? You have probably heard that Giles has declared that he wishes a separation (of Virginia) from the Union."

March 7. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in New York. "I regret extremely that the majority against the repeal of the alien and sedition bills was so small as it was, three only. There is a class of men in this country possessing some public consequence, but entirely destitute of any moral principle, whose whole lives are spent in the prostitution of their talents to the perversion of their reason, whose unceasing endeavors are to mislead the public mind, to obstruct public business, and thus embarrass the operations of government. I have been led to these observations by the late conduct of the Virginians. They appear to bid defiance to all laws, human and divine. Some of them do not hesitate to avow, that they wish a separation of their State from the Union. The new loan was filled sooner

than any one expected. Almost fifteen millions were subscribed as soon as gentlemen could write their names. The scrip was sold yesterday at twenty-five per cent. advance. I thank you for sending me Joan d'Arc. I don't recollect when I have read a book, with which I have been more pleased. Do you know that Southey wrote his poem in the short space of six weeks, and published it in twelve books; that he afterwards revised and published it in ten, as we now have it; that he has lately published a new edition, in which he has left out the whole of the eighth book, containing the Vision of the Maid, and which I thought discovered as much true genius as any of the ten? Southey did not write the second book, in which the Palace of Ambition is so admirably described. It was the production of his intimate friend, Coleridge. In this work, Southey has written as if he plucked his quill from an angel's wing."

March 8. Shaw to W. E. Channing. "Letters from our ministers in Europe mention the poor king of Sardinia's abdicating his throne, fleeing from Turin, his continental residence, to the island of Sardinia; Spain's granting leave to France to march an army through her territory to invade Portugal. The Secretary of the Navy has not yet received any official accounts of Truxton's victory, but there is not any doubt of its truth. I flatter myself, that the world will soon know, that American heart of oak, under the management of American sailors, will constitute that firm bulwark of our national independence, which will bid them defiance."

March 9. A letter from Mrs. Adams at Quincy. On a topic, then much discussed, her language follows: "I am not pleased with a set of people, who profess to be federalists just as long as the measures of the government promote their interests; but lose all confidence and exclaim against them, whenever their views are opposed. 'The President will not be advised. He will act of his own head. He is determined to support Gerry in opposition to all his friends. He must tread back the steps he has taken, for the Senate will never advise and consent to the nomination of Mr. Murray.' Then comes the new nomination. The Senate advised to that in order to defeat the measure, for Mr. Ellsworth is out of health, and Patrick Henry so old, that he will not go. But are not the Senate pointed out by the constitution as advisers of the President? Yes. Are there any others whom he is obliged to consult? No. 'But Washington always did.' Was not he censured for being led by Hamilton? But why was not the Secretary of State consulted? Ay, there's the rub. Such has been the zeal without knowledge of some of our hot-heads. They are, however, cooling down. Some person asked Judge Davis,[1] when the news first arrived, what he thought of the measure. 'Wait a fortnight,' said he, 'and then I will tell you. I have not forgotten the British Treaty yet.'"

March 11. From Walter. "My sister has written

[1] John Davis, late Judge of the United States District Court in Massachusetts, who died January 14, 1847, within eleven days of being eighty-six years old.

me that Count Rumford and his daughter are coming to Boston this spring, and are agoing to reside near Cambridge, as he desired my father to procure him a house. This will be gratifying to his countrymen. He has benefited the world essentially by his chemical processes with regard to fire, and deserves to be considered as one of the very few, who delight in doing good."

March 22. S. Ewing in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. "The insurrection in the northern counties of this State (Pennsylvania) will, I presume, vanish in a few days. The agents in the business have transgressed or misunderstood their powers, and the principals have become alarmed. They are not prepared to go great lengths. Let it be as it may, we, 'the soldiers,' are prepared cheerfully to defend the Constitution. We are ordered to hold ourselves in readiness, at a moment's warning, to march, and when that moment comes, we shall march with pleasure."

March 29. From Walter in New York. "Gallatin, as you say, is a very ingenious man. He almost 'makes the worse appear the better cause.' Samuel Dexter used to remark, that Gallatin was one of the first men in his own country. The insurrection in Pennsylvania, from all accounts, appears to be formidable and increasing. Things are advancing to a crisis in Europe. England still presents a bold front to the revolutionary storm. Pitt is unshaken. The spirit of the father reigns in the son."

April. Shaw at Quincy to Walter. He observes of the insurgents in Pennsylvania, "They said,

that the law authorizing the direct tax was illegal. They believed, that, if resisting it, they should be supported by the State of Virginia, and even by General Washington himself."

April 7. Shaw to W. E. Channing, in Richmond, Va. "Of the Pennsylvania insurgents, no great is to be feared. A few companies of militia, marching to the spot, it is thought, will disperse them immediately and without difficulty. The insurgents are principally Germans, very ignorant and most unaccountably deluded. They have among them a German priest, who has not been in this country but a few months, is a disciple of Weishaupt, and has done much mischief. They said that the law authorizing the direct tax was illegal, because it was not signed by Thomas Jefferson, the Vice President, but one Theodore Sedgwick, whom they did not know. They absolutely agreed to dispatch a courier to General Washington, to know whether it was legal or not. A report circulated among them, and was generally believed, that John Adams had married his eldest son to the king of England's daughter, and that he was soon to return to this country and a monarchy was to be established."

April 21. From Abner Rogers[1] at Cambridge. Replying to Mr. Shaw's letter, which mentioned the privileges he left in Philadelphia and the hardness of traveling thence, he remarked, "I have often heard that the remembrance of pleasure so far absorbs the mind, that it is not susceptible of painful impres-

[1] Born at Hampstead, N. H.: H. C. 1800: practiced law: died 1814.

sions. But a fellow in a horse-pond, will soon be sensible of his situation. If that were not the case, a person once happy, might be always so."

April 22. From S. Ewing in Philadelphia. "The greatest part of the prisoners have arrived from Northampton. It is probable that they will be tried next week. Mr. Lewis is employed for Fries and Eberhard; Dallas, Ingersoll and my brother for the remainder."

April 26. Shaw at Quincy to Walter in New York. Criticising on several works which they had read, he remarks, "You do not seem so pleased with the Pursuits of Literature, as I expected. It is true, that the author is unpardonably vain. Still, I cannot help being gratified with the energy of his style, the dignity and boldness of his sentiments. His periods are nervous and flowing, as any author I ever read, not excepting Burke. I will apply to himself, what he has said of Boileau, 'There is in this book such an ardent zeal for propriety in sentiment and in expression, such a sense of the dignity of human nature, when undebased; such a hatred of hypocrisy, such a love of purity, such an abhorrence of all profaneness and indecency and even indelicacy, that I am not able to name a man, whose work, at the present time, may be read with more advantage.'" From literature he proceeds to politics: "I am happy in having it in my power to congratulate you on the quelling of the Pennsylvania insurrection, without armed opposition and loss of blood. France has asked leave of Spain to march through her territory. She will probably

comply. French principles and influences are deeply rooted in her soil. Should a French army be thus permitted, they will pillage everything they can lay their hands on, though, by the way, it cannot be of much value." He mentions religious topics. "I send you a most charming address of Bishop Watson to the diocese of Landaff. I do admire this man. There appears so much goodness, so much candor and modesty in all his writings, that one cannot but love him."

May. From William E. Channing. "You appear, Shaw, to be absorbed in politics. You are at the fountain-head of information. Political institutions are only valuable as they improve and moralize human nature. Wealth and power are subordinate considerations, and are far from constituting the real greatness of a State. I blush for mankind when I see *interest* the only tie which binds them to their country; when I see the social compact improved for no purpose but the accumulation of riches; and the prosperity of a nation decided by the successful avarice of its members. I wish to see patriotism exalted into a moral principle, and not a branch of avarice. I wish to see governments established and administered with the view of enlightening the mind and dignifying the heart.

"You wish to know what I think of France. I think her cause desperate indeed. I cannot conceive how a government founded on corruption, unsupported by the attachment of its subjects, unable to pay armies, shaken by internal convulsions, surrounded by rebellious allies, and attacked, as

France soon must be, by the united forces of Europe, can maintain its ground and withstand such formidable and consolidated opposition. These considerations have led me to suppose, in spite of the Secretary's report, that she (France) was sincere in her pacific professions to Mr. Gerry. Do not misunderstand me. I do not say that France has given up her views on this country. I do not say that she is less active in her intrigues. I know better. What I mean is this, that France rested her hopes of success on the party she had formed in our own bosom, that she never calculated upon the spirit which burst forth on the publication of the dispatches, that her critical situation rendered a war with us impolitic, and that, of course, it was her interest to heal the breach with us and wait for a more favorable opportunity to accomplish her designs. Pickering tells us that France wished to delude us by the semblance of a negotiation, and palsy our exertions. No doubt she wished us to repose in the lap of confidence till, having 'sharked up the fry of Europe,' she should have leisure to devour us also. But how, in fact, was this to be done? She had evidently been too sudden in claiming tribute from America. She saw that, in spite of her opiates, the eagle's eye was vigilant, and 'the national pulse beat high' for war; she saw unexpected energies of patriotism bursting forth, and measures of defence adopted, notwithstanding her tampering with our envoy; she had no navy to force us to compliance. Thus situated, I ask, what was she to do? Was it not her interest to quiet our jealousies by

forming a treaty with us, and delay to another and more promising period her schemes of bondage? I am not for enlarging our standing army. It is the engine which has beat down the walls of liberty in all ages. I think every farthing thrown away, which is not expended on our navy. There is not the shadow of a probability that France will attempt an invasion. The seas are our tender part, and I hope soon to behold an American navy which will place us out of danger of an invasion from any foreign power, which will render our flag more respected than it has hitherto been, and raise us above dependence on any European nation for protection of our commerce. I am opposed to standing armies on account of their moral effects. The activity of war will leave the soldier no time to corrupt himself. But an army in time of peace, is the hotbed of vice."

May 12. Shaw in Quincy to W. E. Channing in Richmond, Va. "I have read your letters over and over again, and I should not deserve to live were I not delighted with the beautiful enthusiasm, and benevolent wishes, breathed in every word. Is not your theory incompatible with the experience of ages? *A community of property*, of all things, always seemed to me to be the most impracticable, especially so in the present demoralized state of the world, when men seem to be willing to sacrifice their God, their country, and their own souls, to their own private and present interests. Is not money by far the most powerful motive to action? 'Gold is omnipotent below.' Bring such a world

together in a community of property, how long would it continue? You would have, if you allow the expression, a continual war of all against all.

"How do you proceed in your course of history? Belsham has continued the History of England from the Revolution under William and Mary. He appears, I think, to be rather prejudiced against the ministry. I am now reading Davila's History of the Civil Wars in France. This is peculiarly interesting at the present time. One cannot but see a most striking similarity of conduct in the leaders of the factions in that day, and in those of the late revolution of France. Sully's Memoirs I am advised to read immediately after this. These two books will make up for the deficiency, in part, of which you complained in Hume, 'that he did not throw light enough on the rest of Europe.' I am happy to have it in my power to congratulate you on the quelling of the Pennsylvanian insurrection without loss of blood.

"How was the late federal fast observed at Richmond? There were many excellent political sermons preached in this State on that day. Dr. Morse has published a sermon, in which he asserts that he has indubitable proof, that there are societies of the Illuminati established in this country. These societies have become so numerous in Great Britain, that the king ordered the secretary, Mr. Dundas, to collect the documents respecting them and send them to the House of Commons. Here they were referred to a secret committee, whose report I enclose with this. There were the greatest exertions

this year, by the jacobins, that ever have been made, in order to leave out Governor Sumner and bring in Heath, to change the federal senators and representatives; but they have succeeded but poorly. Sumner has a large majority. The Chronicle of Boston is sold to Mr. James White, the bookseller, and has become a very federal paper. John Russell's Gazette, commercial and political, is now, I think, the best paper on our continent."

May 15. Samuel A. Otis[1] in Philadelphia to Shaw. "I fear we shall see troublesome times ere long. The French power increases, and their malignity towards us is boiling. The Fast was observed here with more sobriety than they generally keep Sunday. This, however, is not saying much. The Quakers, for the most part, had their shops open. They are resolved to go to heaven in their own way. I cannot subscribe without repeating my wish that the President had taken a country-house in this vicinity. Remarks show a dislike of his retirement from Philadelphia."

May 17. Walter at Cambridge to Shaw. "I have been lately reading Belsham's Essays. He is an energetic and solid writer. His independent spirit leads him, I think, to dogmatism. He wrote about the commencement of the French revolution, and rather sanguine in its favor. I hope, by this time, that a person of his judgment has discovered that the hot-bed of such revolution will ripen the night-

[1] Samuel Allyne Otis, Secretary of the United States Senate, died April 22, 1814, æt. 73.

shade of tyranny. His Essays on Christianity are liberal in the extreme."

Shaw to William E. Channing. "I can most cordially join you in rejoicing for the success of the federalists, in their late election, in Virginia. This promises much in our favor. The probability is, I believe, that more than two-thirds of the next Congress will be firm, federal men. This will be more than the most sanguine could expect. In a government like ours, to believe there will be a perfect coincidence of sentiment in all for its support, would be a truly Utopian idea. Every country has many men who call themselves patriots, but are so merely from selfish motives, who, with Horace, are eternally crying, 'dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,' merely to obtain some office under its administration."

May 21. From Thomas B. Adams, who was about taking up his residence in Philadelphia, and was on an excursion to Washington. Of this place he gave a humorous account, which shows us what it was then. "A city growing in the midst of woods. What admiration must it *not* excite on reading of the stately capitol, the magnificent Presidential palace, the commodious Blodget hotel, placed equi-distant from each other, though scarcely visible by reason of distance. Here, in the language of geographers, is a fine champaign country, well stored with wood, abounding in various sorts of grain; a majestic river, navigable, full of fish and wild fowl; and other natural advantages, too numerous to mention. The situation of the ground, on which the

city is to stand, is very pleasant. From different positions you are presented with a very fine prospect, uniting landscape and water scenery, and from almost every point a view of Alexandria mingles with and diversifies the whole. The capitol is in very considerable forwardness; I mean one wing of the building, and might be finished in a few months. The President's house is not quite so forward, and, as to the rest, they are yet on the ground. During my stay at Annapolis, I received great hospitality from the first characters of the place. What a fine thing it is to have a father, when his merits are thus visited on the child."

Shaw at Quincy to Walter in New York. "The speech of Pitt, on union with Ireland, has demonstrated to me, that there is not a subject, even casually presented to him, in which he is not able to appear conspicuous. His conduct, during the present war, indicates as if he had looked, with a prophetic eye, into the 'seeds of time,' and knew which would produce good and which evil fruit. He has men continually at their posts, with instruments to cultivate the one and destroy the other. Of the numerous sermons which were preached at the late fast, and have been published, Dr. Morse's is the most interesting. It contains facts, which ought to alarm and arouse every American, who feels an interest in the government and religion of his country. He says, that he has in his possession, an official, authenticated list of names, ages, places of nativity, professions, etc., of the officers and members of a society of Illuminati in Virginia. This association con-

sists of one hundred members, principally from St. Domingo. It has a deputy residing at the mother society in France, for the purpose of giving information. It was instituted in 1786. He states, that he has evidence of a similar institution in New York, out of which have sprung fourteen others, scattered over the United States. These societies have become not less alarming in America than in Europe. Before you receive this, you will have heard that Fries has been found guilty of treason. All accounts from Philadelphia indicate that he has had an indulgent trial." In reference to a community of property, as discussed by one of his friends, Mr. Shaw remarked: "It seems to me impracticable, especially in the present demoralized state of the world. Is not selfish interest by far the most powerful motive of action? Give me gold enough, and I believe that I could have power over the greater part of mankind. Bring them together and make their property a common stock, and how long would their union exist? You would soon have Hobbs's state of nature, perpetual hostility, all against all, till each had his own restored to him."

May 28. Shaw, to the same friend, concerning the authors they had recently perused. "Southey's Miscellaneous Poems I have read and read with admiration. The beautiful simplicity of the dialogues, the rural happiness there described, really charmed me. His epithets are not taken from Gray but Shakespeare. Mallet du Paris's History of the Destruction of Switzerland, unfolds a tale, "the lightest word of which would harrow up your soul."

Every American ought to read it and be convinced, that fell spirits reign in France. Nancrede has sold many thousands of them. It is in vain to surmise who is the author of the Pursuits of Literature. Matthias and Milus, and a thousand others have been named, but no one with certainty. Miss Hannah Adams, authoress of the View of Religion, etc. has published a Summary History of New England. The advertisement, which you saw in the paper, respecting Count Tilly and Miss Bingham, I have seen and heard repeatedly. This Miss Bingham is the daughter of the Senator, the same family with whom Johnson was connected."

From William E. Channing. "I can remember the day, when I gloried in the moments of rapture, when I loved to shroud myself in the gloom of melancholy. You may remember them too. But I have grown wiser, as I have grown older. I now wish to do good in the world. 'I love a divine,' says the good Fenelon, 'who preaches to *save men's souls* and not to *show himself.*' I perfectly agree with Fenelon, and to make such a divine as he loves, I must throw away those ridiculous extacies, which have their origin in vanity, and form myself to habits of piety and benevolence. One reason why I dislike the rapture and depression of spirit, which we used to encourage at college, is probably this, I find none to share them with me. Virtue does not consist in feeling, but in acting from a sense of duty. I thank you for the observations, which you made in your last letter on my speculations upon society."

CHAPTER III.

Mount Vernon—Equality of Talents—Nullification of French Treaties celebrated — Mrs. Morton's Works—De la Harpe abjures Illuminatism—Yellow Fever in Philadelphia and New York—Assassination of the French Ministers—Slavery—Right of Search.

1799, June 1. Richard Peters, Jr., of Philadelphia, to Shaw at Quincy. "That the spirit of opposition to our government, which manifests itself by such dangerous effects in Northampton, should so soon be crushed and the leader of it brought to know the just rigor of the offended law, must afford to every friend of this country the highest gratification. But, unfortunately, ignorant and deluded as the men are to whom the only arguments which bring conviction home to their minds of the greatness of their crime are corporal punishments, it follows, that when the law has spent its force, they will again return to the gloomy paths of discontent and sink into their original turpitude. Indeed the suspension of the punishment they deserve, has blown into a flame the not entirely extinguished embers of sedition, and they yet refuse to reverence their best of parents, the best of governments. It has been by some persons made a subject of wonder,

that this State should have been twice the seat of that parricide insurrection. To me it appears the natural consequence of our present situation. The Constitution of the United States, founded on the broad basis of reason, and erected with an almost divine justice through all its parts, the policy of the Executive government, flowing from the just conviction, that the measures she pursues are the only ones, which can ever save a tottering state from sharing in the miseries of Europe, require only to be understood, to obtain respect. But without education, without some improvement by learning the natural powers of man, this the majority of our people cannot do. It is well known that the fostering hand of our State government has not yet been extended to the improvement of our youth in learning, and hence they are a prey to the arts of those designing men who thus gnaw the vitals of society. The thick cloud which has so long hung over the political hemisphere of Europe, threatening to burst in destructive torrents and sweep in one general deluge the happiness of the greater part of mankind, seems now to be passing off, and some rays of hope shoot forth. I am now at Belmont, my father's country retirement, pursuing my studies in the law."

June 2. William E. Channing in Richmond to Shaw at Quincy. "I assure you I was struck with the sublime precepts of Christianity, when I began the study of the Bible. I was struck, too, with observing how far I had deviated from them. I found that I had not a pure, a humble, a pious or a char-

itable heart. I saw how Christian charity differed from what I used to call benevolence. Everything was new to me. I thank you for your books. I beg you to write early."

June 8. Thomas B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. Speaking of a recent excursion to the South: "I was accompanied in my visit to Mount Vernon by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and Thomas. We passed two nights there very happily, and received from the General and Mrs. Washington a most cordial welcome. Owing to the excessive heat of the weather, I could not make the usual tour, with which the General often favors his guests, that is, some eight or ten miles walking about his grounds. I am by no means confident, that the prospects from the heights of Quincy would suffer by a comparison with those of Mount Vernon."

June 16. From Shaw at Quincy to Walter in New York. "The many favorable elections throughout the United States which have lately taken place, should gladden the heart of every one, who takes any interest in his country's welfare. With so extensive a territory as ours, it would be but an Utopian idea, to suppose that all of its population would be of one heart in the support of government. There always have been, and always will be, in every nation, ambitious, artful and disappointed men to delude, and others, weak enough to be deluded. They treat the Administration as the Caffrarians of Africa do their god; worship him when the weather is fair, but be very angry with him, if the weather be unpropi-

tious. It is thought that General Heath would not have had so many votes for Governor, in Massachusetts, had not his memoirs been made the subject of several strictures in the newspapers, which were excessively severe.

> "Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot,
> That it do singe yourself. We may outrun
> By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
> And lose by overrunning."

On Wednesday I went in company with the President to attend the funeral of our late Governor Sumner. I never saw before such a concourse of people. I have not time to give you a particular account of the funeral. I will enclose a description of it in a newspaper.

> "He was mild and gentle, and the elements so mixed in him
> That nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a man."

June 16. Thomas B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. "I have thought for some time past that politics are but a remote branch of my trade (law), and though I am not indifferent on any subject particularly interesting to the public, I feel but little respecting generality of political news and unascertained reports. The news from Europe of late has roused me in a degree, because it is of a complexion rather different from my expectation. I did think that the French armies would not meet with an effectual check from the Imperial troops. I rejoice to find the fact otherwise. It is much to be wished, that this reverse of fortune on the French side may be followed up by others of equal magnitude; for my opinion coincides with yours,

that what has already happened, will do little towards humbling the great nation, considering that *arts*, and not arms, are the chief weapons of war, which they wage against the present establishments of the world."

June 27. From S. Ewing, in the same city. Among several authors he had recently perused, "Southey's Poems are charming. Let Godwin talk of the power of education. Let him in his enthusiasm pronounce all men equal at their birth. Let him say that Shakespeare might have been Humphrey Marshall, and Marshall, Shakespeare. I shall not believe it. The Almighty does not leave every thing to chance and education. He affixes the seal of genius on some more than others. He endues them with a heavenly spark, which, however smothered by the barbarity of a savage world, and the tyranny of despotism, will burst into a flame that will be felt."

July 23. From T. B. Adams to Shaw at Quincy. "People here are very angry at the Bostonians for impeding commercial intercourse with them in consequence of the rumors of the yellow fever, as prevalent in this city. Coming in the stage this morning, I heard some Quakers complain of its being a hasty and illiberal measure. I judge not between you."

This month. From Shaw to William E. Channing in Richmond, Va. "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages, princes' palaces, and I should long since have written to you, the

neglect of which has not been owing to a want of inclination, but absolute necessity. I spend my time here, much to my advantage, and, of course, much more to my enjoyment, than in Philadelphia. Here my chief company are books. The society of these is delightful to me. They are persons of all countries and of all ages, distinguished in war, in council and in letters; easy to live with, always at my command. They come at my call, and return when I desire them. They are never out of humor, and they answer all my questions with readiness. Some present, in review before me, the events of the past. Others reveal the secrets of nature. These teach me how to live, and those how to die. This beautiful account of my books is quoted from Petrarch. The Fourth of July was celebrated throughout Massachusetts, this year, with uncommon enthusiasm.

"No one can be more pleased with Southey, as a poet, than I am, and I generally consented to your observations; but I would ask you, whether you approve of his making so conspicuous a figure of Joan d'Arc? Don't you think, too, in his miscellaneous poetry, he talks excessively about the religion of nature, preferring it to revelation? An instance,

> 'Let others go to the house of prayer,
> But he to the woodland strays.'

Mrs. Morton has published lately a poem, which she calls the Virtues of Society, founded on the story of Harriet Auckland, and intended to have made one of the books of her Beacon Hill. It is very handsomely dedicated to Mrs. Adams."

July 29. T. B. Adams, at Rock Hall, Germantown, to Shaw. "Among other pursuits, I am attempting to renew my acquaintance with school and college books. I learnt, like other lads, just as much Latin and Greek as I was bound to, and no more. We have few classic scholars in this country, and their number will not increase, until the capacities of boys in our grammar schools and colleges are better discriminated, and our masters, tutors, preceptors, professors, and presidents become scholars themselves in the dead languages."

August 2. Shaw at Quincy, to Walter in New York. "The seventeenth[1] of July was celebrated in New England, though not so generally, yet with the same glow of patriotism, as the fourth. At Boston it was celebrated with considerable parade, suggested and conducted entirely by the young men. Unfortunate for them, it happened to be Commencement day. They met however at seven o'clock in the morning in the old brick church, where T. Paine[2] delivered an oration to a very crowded audience, which is a superior production. Here you are not only pleased with 'fulmine Demosthenis,' but also with 'suavitate Ciceronis.'"

Aug. William E. Channing to Shaw. "I have lately read Wolstoncraft's Posthumous Works. The letters towards the end of the first volume are the

[1] Operation of the law of the United States, declaring "the treaties heretofore concluded with France no longer obligatory on them."

[2] Thomas Paine, who afterwards had his name changed to Robert Treat Paine, being that of his father, in 1803, because he disliked to have it the same as that of the infidel. On this occasion he remarked, "Now I have a Christian name."

best I ever read. They are superior to Sterne's. I have lately read Rousseau's Eloisa. He is the only French writer I have ever read, who knows the way to the heart. I would recommend to you a novel, 'Caleb Williams,' by Godwin. What a melancholy reflection is it, that the writers I have now mentioned were all deists. Blest with the powers of intellect and fancy, they have not been able to discern the traces of a God in his holy Scriptures, and have trodden under foot the only treasure which deserved pursuit. The pride of human nature has been the source of their error. They could not 'become as little children.' They could not bear the yoke of Christ, and imbibe the meek and humble spirit of his religion."

Aug. 16. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. "Your last letter mentioned that you had just finished Davila's History. Did you ever read the discourses on this author, written in 1789 and 1790, which some writers of that day, who were displeased with the political doctrines inculcated by them, used to call long-winded, tedious sermons in favor of monarchy and aristocracy? I well remember the time, when the public were taught and persuaded to conceive a horror and disgust against the respectable author of those harmless papers. Faction existed then, as now, but it had not then been organized. The inflammatory materials were concealed beneath the cinders; but the breath of party animosity, aided by the strong gale of French Revolution, could alone kindle the flame, which shortly after burst forth with unequal

violence in all quarters of the globe. The electioneering campaign goes on briskly here. We shall have a curious publication on the subject of Mr. Kean's character and qualifications, in a few days, if the committee appointed to draft it comply with this duty in the course of the week. Some interesting sketches and anecdotes respecting a few of his friends are likewise promised. Old tories serve to fill the foremost ranks of each side. Tench Coxe and Levi Hollingworth may be balanced against each other. There will be very warm work at the time of election, you may depend."

Aug. 20. Walter in Boston to Shaw. "I have the Virtues of Society for you; but shall reserve it till you take it yourself. Mrs. Morton's[1] Ouabi was better than her Beacon Hill, and this superior to her Virtues of Society. She was made by nature to tune the pastoral pipe and call the flocks together. To such scenes she would be best suited. I doubt whether Arcadia would have supplied many more beautiful shepherdesses. When she leaves Shenstone to commune with Homer, she falters in her pace. I hear that new discoveries are making with respect to the Illuminati. De la Harpe, one of their number, whom Barruel, I think, mentions, was thrown into prison, in the time of Robespierre, and his dungeon was near one occupied by the Bishop of Bruix. They had opportunities of conversing together. The Bishop so completely showed him the error of his ways, that he has abjured his

[1] Wife to Perez Morton, Attorney General, who died in 1837.

former conduct and written a work of great merit and dignity, in which he points out the villany of his associates and the existence of their diabolical plots. This is what I hear. Whether it be really true, I cannot decide. The confession of one of the order would remove doubts from many minds as to its existence. From Burke's figures, we may suppose that he picked flowerets with Apollo on Parnassus, and saw the lightning and the storm from 'summa apex Olympi,' under the shield of Minerva. He is indeed excellent as a man, a statesman, an orator, and a Christian."

Aug. 23. T. B. Adams at Rock Hall to Shaw at Quincy. As to yellow fever in Philadelphia, "The deadly pestilence has burst forth again with tenfold violence, and every part of the city is more or less infected. The inhabitants are flying in every direction, and not a room is left unoccupied at Germantown. The banks and other public offices are soon expected. New York, we understand, is equally afflicted and alarmed. Another mournful autumn menaces on all sides, and yet the weather seems favorable, in a high degree, to health in the country.

"Barlow is deep in the mysteries of modern philosophy. Poets, in general, do not succeed as politicians. They are worshipers of ideal images, dealers in fiction, builders of air castles, and master workmen only in the edifices of Parnassus's summit. These things belong not to the science of government. In France, indeed, under the mockery of republicanism, the Cheniers and Beaumarchaises

have debased their muses to the vile purpose of blasphemy and atheism. There, poets may be legislators, for the republic exists only in imagination."

Aug. 26. Shaw to William E. Channing in Richmond. Speaking of his enjoyment of country scenes, he remarked, "One of the Henrys of England, while surrounded with glory, could not refrain from exclaiming, 'Methinks it were a happy life to be no better than a lowly swain.' Sometimes I walk, sometimes I ride, and sometimes I go a gunning. Robins are very plenty. O cruel wretch! methinks I hear you exclaim; how can you amuse yourself in killing those little innocents, that never did or ever can do any harm? I answer. I kill them because God, at the creation, made Adam lord over them. We read that he had power over the beasts of the field and fowls of the air. I take it the right is hereditary. I know of nothing which opposes me, but humanity. In her court, I tremble at the verdict. You know that I am a zealous advocate in her favor, when I have not my gun in my hand; and in my speculative hours, perfectly coinciding with the sentiment of Shenstone, that 'one should not destroy an insect, nor quarrel with a dog, without reason sufficient to vindicate one through all the courts of morality.' However, I comfort myself, as the Pharisee did of old, with the consciousness, that I am not so great a sinner as many of my acquaintances have been. Walter has obtained his degree at New York, and returned to Boston."

Sept. "You have no doubt seen Barbackxy's

letter, stating that the assassination of the French ministers at Rastadt, was committed by the order of the Directory themselves. The base deed, connected with their consequent conduct, completes the grand climax of their treachery and wickedness. I wonder if the annals of any country of any age can produce, in the space of seven years, so many crimes, and of so black a die, as France has the last seven? In one short summer, we saw her monarchy, her nobility, her law, her church, her revenue, her navy, her commerce, her arts, her manufactures, in short, her every thing that was good and great, leveled with the dust. We have seen one of the most beautiful and fertile countries of Europe, polluted with human blood. The existence of the present government in France cannot, I think, remain long. Factions are again multiplied, societies are revived, and the press has become free. What the consequence of all this is to be, I cannot presume to know. Still, I cannot help suspecting, that monarchy will be established there, whenever it shall be agreed which party shall have the honor of its restoration. Bonlay (de la Meuthe), one of the council of five hundred, has lately published a pamphlet, in which he gives you a view of the causes of the English revolution by Cromwell, and of its failure. The object of this work seems to be to show France the necessity of restoring a limited monarchy. This Bonlay is at the head of the popular party in France, and his pamphlet has been sold by tens of thousands."

Sept. 3. Walter in Boston to Shaw at Quincy.

"I have been reading Burke's appeal to the old whigs. There is so much dignity in the man, so much of the oak and so little of the osier, I cannot but admire him. Monday, I went into the office. Blackstone, to all the perspicuity of a law character, has added the coloring of the orator. I think he used to write poetry, and very good too. Law will not admit much embellishment. It is a Gothic temple, which looks with contempt on fantastic flowers and Corinthian gew-gaws. Perhaps I shall get along tolerably well. The road is beaten, and at least I can follow the track."

Probably Sept. From Wm. E. Channing in Richmond. "There is one object which always depresses me. It is slavery. This circumstance would prevent me from ever settling in Virginia. Language cannot express my detestation of it. Master and slave! Nature never made such a distinction, or established such a relation. Man, when forced to substitute the will of another for his own, ceases to be a moral agent; his title to the name of a man is extinguished; he becomes a mere machine in the hand of his oppressor. Should you desire it, I will give you some idea of the situation and character of the negroes in Virginia. It is a subject so degrading to humanity, that I cannot dwell on it with pleasure. I should be obliged to show you every vice, heightened by every meanness, and added to every misery. The influence of slavery on the whites, is almost as fatal as it is on the blacks themselves. You speak of Godwin as a great rascal. I would thank you for a more partic-

ular account of his character. The jacobins here almost idolize him, particularly the young philosophers of the day. I should like to show them their apostle in his true light. It seems that you cannot love Mrs. Wolstoncraft. I do not mean to fight with you about her. Her principles respecting marriage, would prove fatal to society, if they were reduced to practice. These I cannot recommend. But on other subjects her sentiments are noble. She possessed a masculine mind; but, in her letters, you may discover a heart as soft and feeling as was ever placed in the breast of a woman. I read much in the papers about Kotzebue. Is he greater than Schiller? I was charmed with a few extracts from his 'Italian Father,' which I met with a little while ago. Tell me something about him. It is not from congeniality of soul, I confess; but I love to know the history, the eccentricities, and even the misfortunes of genius."

Sept. 8. From T. B. Adams, at Germantown, Pa. "I have been very little from the spot of my retreat, except to Frankford, where I last week attended court, and took the oath as a practitioner therein. I hope that the money which a license to practice costs, may pay good interest, but the prospect is barren. I have to attend another court this week, in the case of a debtor who intends to avail himself of the cheating insolvent law of this State, passed last year, and under which the most flagrant frauds and perjuries are committed. The mortality in Philadelphia increases slowly. For many days the average was about twenty, and has never

reached thirty-one. Rainy weather has prevailed, and we hope checked the disease in a degree. Several useful men have fallen within a short time. If you can obtain for me copies of the pieces written by Mr. Paine, I will thank you. I think highly of his poetic talents, and wish he might meet as much encouragement as his genius merits. A professional poet cannot live here by his trade, and unluckily he is seldom fit for any other."

Sept. 9. From J. S. Buckminster at Cambridge. "I write you now in behalf of Bean, one of our class, whom you probably know. He wishes to procure a chaplain's commission in one of the seventy-fours now building. He desired me to inquire of you what steps he must take to secure his object. I have been to see Walter in Boston, and found him drying up his brains over Blackstone's Commentaries. Now for politics. They necessarily accompany a letter to you. Rejoice with me in McDonald's defeat, in the discovery of Directorial villany in the assassination of the Deputies, in the success of Sir Sidney Smith, etc. Pray for the British fleet, for a better state of the nation, and for the abolishment of anarchy. Explain, if possible, Captain Truxton's resignation."

Sept. 26. Walter in Boston to Shaw at Quincy. "Allston delivered a fine poem on Genius, exhibition day. I was not there, but they say that it was clear originality, clothed in the most luxuriant versification. There is a subscription for it, but he has not determined as to its publication. John S. J. Gardiner, the minister, intends publishing a maga-

zine, not openly, but really in the dark. There was a subscription paper for it, but I did not see it. I have no doubt it will be excellent, edited by such a classical scholar. I have been reading Mrs. Wolstoncraft. I will not excuse the person who thus tramples on the bands which hold society together. Her platonic affection is all folly. It is the completest voluptuousness possible. When we consider how she cohabited with Imlay, and then Godwin, taking their names, without being married to either of them, we can allow her very little credit for her love of chastity, order, and independence, and her wishes for the rights of women. In Russell's Gazette of to-day, is a valuable document, in which the Court of Admiralty in England have determined, that belligerent powers have a right to search neutral vessels for enemies and contraband goods, whatever may be the instructions of their commanders, or however protected by convoy. This is in direct contradiction to the orders of the President, who has, I think, authorized our armed ships to resist all such search. I return you Hamilton's report. I have read the first volume of his Federalist, and have been well pleased. There is much of the statesman and orator displayed in that excellent work. It is a very handsome defence of the Constitution of the United States, and shows that he has studied politics to advantage in the great volumes of history, and the Commentaries of Locke, Puffendorf and Grotius."

Sept. 29. Shaw to Walter. "We are obliged to set out to-morrow for the South very unexpectedly.

This sudden journey will deprive me of much anticipated pleasure in seeing you and Buckminster at Quincy. Why were you not at the Exhibition? I heard much of Allston's poem before I received your letter. Brigadier General Wilkinson, whose station is at the Natches, was present, and much delighted with the poem. Bisset I shall leave with Mr. Greenleaf for you. You may lend it to Sawyer and then Buckminster. You will take care of it, so that it may be returned to me in the Spring, safe and sound. You will find it interesting and instructive. It is somewhat in the manner of Boswell's Life of Johnson. It contains a judicious selection of anecdotes and beautiful extracts from the works of an excellent man. A principal object of it is, to show that Burke was consistent through life. This, I think, is clearly done. He was never one of the many who oppose a system to-day, which they supported yesterday. He was invariably true and constantly just. The decision of the British Admiralty Court does not clash with the President's instructions. These were given to our public armed ships, (not private ones,) immediately after the British Captain Loring, formerly a tory on Jamaica Plains, went on board of the Baltimore, a public armed vessel, Captain Phillips, and impressed a number of her men. On this occasion, the President ordered, that no such procedure be allowed by American commanders; that if able to repel force, to do it,—but if not, to surrender their ships with the crews. Great changes, I agree with you, are taking place in Europe. France will be humbled

in the dust. Her philosophy has addressed the nations of Europe, as sleep did Palinurus. Like him, some of them listened and slept the sleep of death. But others of them are vigilant and active, and she must fall before their combined power.

"Do you know that attempts are making in Europe to restore the Society of the Jesuits? It is a fact. An Abbe Broglis and an Italian Count are at the head of the project. They are likewise encouraged by the Emperor of Russia. He favors one of their associations, established at Mohillo. What can be his object, is hard to tell."

CHAPTER IV.

Restoration of the Jesuits—Envoys to France—Death of Washington—Disposition of his Estate—Portfolio—Bonaparte—Cause of the French Revolution—Statue for Washington—Mungo Park—Reasons for an Army—City of Washington.

1799. Oct. 3. Walter in Boston to Shaw at Trenton,[1] N. J. "I went to Russell and got Canning's speech. I like it much; but it has little of Chatham, and still less of Burke. He talks well on the miseries of the conquered countries, and displays a picture, sketched by the pencil of truth, which is really interesting. His style of eloquence is forcible, but harsh and rugged. He is, however, excellent as a young man, and will, no doubt, be an ornament to the House. Samuel Dexter thinks highly of him.

"The re-establishment of the Jesuits is indeed extraordinary. I don't want the existence of this Society. It is, in principle, as bad as the Illuminati. You know that Russell, in his Modern Europe, says, it was evident from their books and papers, that they intended the destruction of all (Protestant) institutions. I have been reading Wieland's Oberon,

[1] The Executive authorities of the United States appear to have convened here because of the yellow fever at Philadelphia.

translated by Southey. The tale is extremely interesting, and the descriptions most luxuriant."

Oct. 23. T. B. Adams, at Germantown, Penn., to Shaw at Trenton, N. J. "I have been anxious, for some days, on account of reports, which have been circulated with great zeal and industry, of a serious misunderstanding in the cabinet at Trenton. The story is, that the Secretary of State opposed, with all his influence, the departure of the envoys for France; that his opposition was seconded by a declaration of the British Minister, that a fresh attempt at negotiation by our government, would be considered by the Coalesced Powers, as an act of hostility against them, since they had come to a resolution to force a declaration from every neutral Power, for or against them; that the President is said to have replied with characteristic energy to this communication; that the Secretary persevered in his disaffection, which produced a warm explanation, in the course of which the President declared he would resign, rather than submit to be influenced by the menaces of any other Power on earth, as to the subject of our external connections, or intercourse; and that the envoys, of course, are to go Since the triumph of jacobinism in this State, there is a manifest scheme set on foot, of irritating the public mind against Great Britain. I see the drift of it in part, but I should wish to know what fresh provocation has excited the animosity, which thus discovers itself. McKean, Governor of the State, Jefferson, President of the United States, is the next object of that party."

Oct. 31. Walter in Boston to Shaw at Trenton, N. J. "We yesterday celebrated your uncle's birth with every demonstration of joy. Governor Gill reviewed the troops on the Common. He gave a dinner to all the officers. I don't know whether I told you of Count Rumford's daughter being here. Her father is to come next Spring. He is much esteemed in London as a character of singular industry and minute philosophical accuracy, joined with great benevolence. He is attending entirely to his new Institution, which seems to be very successful. We are in anxious expectation of news from Europe. Things of great pith are in the wind. We do not like the conduct of the English towards many of our vessels. It is infamous and unjustifiable.

"Our envoys are to sail from Newport soon. We are anxious to know how they will be received at the Court of St. Cloud. I admire the discourses of Davila. They are rich in political truths."

Nov. 1. Samuel Ewing in Philadelphia to Shaw. "How pleasing to return after a long absence to your home, the scene of former joys; to return to it in peace and safety, while your ears are no more stunned by the solemn and incessant rattling of the hearse, nor your sensibility wounded by the groans of your dying neighbors!"

Nov. 3. William E. Channing in Richmond, Va., to Shaw in Trenton. "I want to talk with you a moment on the political world. If I mistake not, the present period is the most eventful and important which has offered itself to our view during

the Revolution in France. In Europe the fate of nations is suspended in the balance, and America, though so remote from the scene of blood and confusion, is most deeply interested in the decision of the contest. The eyes of all parties are now fixed on the President. What can he do? The federalists, in all parts of the country, seem opposed to a renewal of negotiation with France. The jacobins are more clamorous than ever about his supineness in forming a solid peace with that government. One paper says that the Envoys will not proceed to Europe. Another says that they are on the point of embarking. I hardly know what to think; but I rely implicitly on the firmness and independence of the President. I consider him as elevated above the clamors of faction, and superior to the narrow views of party. He is placed in that peculiar situation, that no measure he can adopt will be popular. The only object he can propose to himself is the good of his country, and I doubt not he will pursue it with undeviating perseverance. I have ever considered it the interest of America to be at peace with all nations. I lay it down as a principle, that by war we can gain nothing, and are sure of losing something. I think federalism has reached its highest point in Virginia, and unless federalists awake, it must decline. How is our prospect from abroad? I have sometimes thought it probable, that the kings of Europe, after restoring Louis, would form a coalition to exterminate republicanism. They must establish monarchy every where, or else they cannot keep it any where."

Nov. 4. Shaw to Walter in Boston. "I thank you for your accurate account of Wieland's Oberon. It is as curious a fact as the history of literature presents, that a nation, known as the Germans have been for productions of a phlegmatic cast, should, all at once, astonish the world by works of fancy and feeling.

"I expect to go to Philadelphia to-morrow or next day, whence you shall hear from me soon."

Nov. 18. Walter to Shaw in Philadelphia. "I have received a letter from you, inclosing the President's speech. It is here considered as very moderate, unwilling to hurt any party, desirous to pass over the injuries committed on our commerce by the privateers of Great Britain, and disposed to conciliate the good opinion of every Power.

"I hope we shall continue to support our character with firmness. I would not stop a single stitch in the making of a sail, or relax any portion of strength, that drives the spike into the side of a vessel. We are only secure in power. We know not what events may take place in Europe. Let us grow in strength, and meet with boldness any emergency. Perhaps Europe is as critically situated now as ever. Our envoys may find in France rulers and principles they did not expect, and difficulties they did not imagine."

Nov. 21. Joseph Story at Marblehead to Shaw. "Mr. Sewall has obligingly offered to convey this to you, and I readily accept the opportunity of apologizing for an unintentional neglect. You were so kind, on commencement day, as to give

me an invitation to dine with you at Quincy the next day, and with sensibility of the favor, I accepted it. But unfortunately for me, my health, which previously had been very precarious, was so much injured by the exhilarations of that time, that I was incapable, on the next day, even of attending the meeting of the P. B. K. Your unexpected departure for Philadelphia, was the reason of my not offering this apology in person. Accept my warm wishes for your welfare, and believe, that I shall be happy to see you,

"Where'er I roam, whatever realm to see."

Nov. 22. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in Boston. "I thank you for inclosing me (William E.) Channing's letter and Madam Genlis's Tales of the Castle, which I borrowed of John Pickering while at college, and which afforded me pleasure and instruction.

"You must have read Bisset's Life of Burke long before this. There is one anecdote which I do not recollect in it, as follows. Burke approved the revolution in Poland. He admired it, because 'every thing was kept in its place and order, but in that place and order every thing was bettered.' The Poles have struck off medals of the late unfortunate Poniatowski; his Majesty sent one to Mr. Burke, with a letter in his own hand-writing, as a token of his respect for Burke's talents and patriotism.

"I want you to purchase for me the Speculator, the object of which is German literature. They

seem to bring forward, in Boston, no other plays than German this winter."

From Walter. "I have lately read Kotzebue's play of Pizarro. There are sentiments in it which would not dishonor Shakespeare. Buckminster has read your Burke, and is much pleased with it.

"We have been sixty days without news from Europe. Every coming wave may waft to our shores something highly momentous, perhaps decisive of the fate of Europe.

"I have always had an idea, that the interior of Africa is worth investigation. The African Society in London have gone far towards this highly laudable design. I doubt whether distant colonies would be of much advantage to the United States."

December 1. William E. Channing to Shaw in Philadelphia. "I have been reading Southey for these two hours, and my feelings have been so much agitated, that I am quite exhausted. I have thought, of late, that my tears were dried up. But Southey, like Moses, touched the rock with the rod of his genius, and the streams gushed forth as he struck. He is an interesting poet; and this is the greatest encomium which can be passed on a writer who addresses himself to the fancy and heart.

"I am now studying divinity harder than ever. Thanks to the God who made me, I have chosen the only profession which could make me happy. By studying the Scriptures themselves, I am trying to discover the will of God, and the uncorrupted doctrines which our Saviour taught. I once called

myself a Christian. Till lately I knew not the meaning of the word. I entreat you, Shaw, not to absorb yourself so much in political pursuits as to lose sight of the most important of all your concerns. Are you willing to receive salvation not as due to your own merits, but as a free and undeserved gift of God through Jesus Christ? 'Whosoever shall not humble himself as this little child, shall not enter the kingdom of God.'

"I think England, at present, more formidable to this country than France. Her depredations on our commerce, according to the papers, are greater than ever. Poor France! I do not wholly despair of her. I hope that no government will be established there, which is not founded on the only basis of rightful authority, the consent of the people."

Dec. 2. Wm. Smith, merchant of Boston, to Shaw. "I congratulate you on your return to your winter quarters in the city. Some of our politicians have been very uneasy at the departure of the envoys. In their opinion and in the opinion of their *Oracle*, it was highly improper, lest it irritate the combined Powers against us. But in the opinion of all rational Americans, the departure of the envoys is highly proper and well timed. The election of McKean is an unfortunate event for the Union, and more particularly for Pennsylvania. The last arrivals from Europe bring accounts of many bloody battles. Before this, I presume, the Speaker and Clerk are elected, and the President has made his

communications. We are all anxious to know the contents of the *budget.*"

From Walter in Boston. "In Hamburgh they are publishing a Geography of America, by a German literary character.[1] The budget reached Pennsylvania, when I heard about it. Thus you see, they think something of us, poor, miserable beings! I wish very much for Burke to Bedford. Wakefield, who wrote an answer to it, says, that throughout the whole there are marks of wonderful genius and extraordinary learning, and that his observations on the French's converting leaden coffins into bullets for their soldiers are exceedingly eloquent. What an elegant thing must his life be, as promised by Dr. Lawrence, who was his executor and had charge of all his papers."

Dec. 4. From Artemas Sawyer[2] in Boston. "Our 'change politicians are waiting with silent anxiety for the sentiments of the President. They expect he will come forward in a decided tone, respecting the late depredations of the English, and also the late envoys to France. Both are subjects of much speculation here. The latter, in particular, has excited many observations among all parties, and many illiberal reflections upon the President for his appointment of them. Now is the time, when every citizen of America should strive to support the dignity of our government."

Dec. 8. Shaw to Walter, a law student in Mr.

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[1] Ebeling.

[2] A classmate of Mr. Shaw. Settled in Chilicothe, Ohio, as a Lawyer, and died 1815.

Dexter's office, Boston. "Several things have occurred which have lost their attraction, because I could not write to you about them in season. Last Monday the Federal Government assembled in this city. The members were uncommonly punctual, and both Houses formed a quorum the same day. Massachusetts is honored by having a Speaker chosen from her Representatives. Mr. Sedgwick will preside with ability, and, no doubt, will honor his constituents. The speech of the President you will see, before my letter reaches you. Still I send you one, as printed by the House. It is impossible, at present, to ascertain the number of federalists in the present Congress. I suspect, that, however they may have a decided majority, they will not be so many as our sanguine expectations would lead us to believe. Ever since the adoption of the constitution, most of the laws which have been enacted, have passed by small majorities. Perhaps this is likely to be so. The session, I think, will be one of much interest. I have lately perused the Travels of the Duke Liancourt, through the United States in 1795–7. It contains many curious anecdotes, and is as accurate as we have reason to expect from a foreigner. Dr. Priestly has lately published 'Letters to the inhabitants of Northumberland and its neighborhood,' which may be considered as political and rather curious than otherwise. The main object of the pamphlet appears to be a vindication of the author against the aspersions of Peter Porcupine."

Dec. 18. T. B. Johnson of Georgetown, Va. to

Shaw in Philadelphia. "It is with the deepest sorrow, I announce to you the the irremediable loss sustained by this country in the death of General Washington. He departed this life about eleven o'clock last Saturday evening. On the preceding night he was attacked with a violent inflammatory affection in the throat, which, in less than four and twenty hours, terminated his existence."

Dec., latter part. Shaw to Walter in Boston. "For a few days past I have been much interested in attending a trial in the Supreme Court. It was Dr. Rush vs. Cobbet, for many libellous publications against him in 1797. The case has been delayed till the present time. Very able counsel was employed by both parties. The jury brought in damages for the plaintiff, for five thousand dollars.

"For the death of Washington, every countenance is sad; a general gloom will be cast over our country. The Senate and House have agreed to wear mourning for the rest of the session. General Lee, from Virginia, is appointed by the House to deliver an eulogium on Thursday next. The Senate wait on the President to-morrow, with an excellent address for the occasion, drawn up by Mr. Dexter. All the churches, to-day, were hung in black; were very much crowded, most of the worshipers had badges of mourning, and many were dressed in black. Congress contemplate to have a monument erected to Washington in the federal city."

The General Government having, on the 2d, passed resolves of condolence with Mrs. Washington, for the recent decease of her husband, and of

a wish, that she would consent to the interment of his remains in the capital, such documents were transmitted to her by Mr. Shaw. Her answer, through him, to President Adams, follows :

"*Mount Vernon, December* 31, 1799.

"Sir,—While I feel with keenest anguish the late dispensation of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services, and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

"Taught by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me; and, in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

"With grateful acknowledgments, and unfeigned thanks for the personal respect, and evidences of condolence expressed by Congress, and yourself,

"I remain very respectfully, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"Martha Washington.."

1800, Jan. 2. From Walter. "We have, indeed, to lament the death of Washington. His memory is blessed and immortal. Many epithets of applause

bestowed on him have been extravagant. He would neither desire nor approve them.

"I rejoice that Porcupine has at last met his due. He has too long trampled on the customs of decency, the beauties of delicacy, and the laws of our country. I rejoice that he is legally punished by the government, which he has openly insulted and vilified.

"General Lee will give you, no doubt, a very fine oration, for I am told he is a complete rhetorician. I shall expect a copy, for which you may expect a copy of Paine's at Newburyport, or of Minot's here. We had intended to have asked Ames, but we had no idea of going to Dedham, and giving the inhabitants a triumph in saying, that we were indebted to them for an orator. At Cambridge, on the 22d of February, they intend to celebrate him (Washington) by a poem from Allston, and an oration from Watson, of Marblehead, with prayers and observations from Willard and Tappan. Indeed, the people of America are determined to pay him every possible respect, which is justly his due. The Legislatures of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky present a front too hostile to be played with. They propagate doctrines, which are to be resisted, not by reason, but by force."

Jan. 5. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in Boston. "I enclose Porcupine's paper of this day. It contains Harper's speech on Griswold's motion, respecting interference, etc. I think it has considerable merit. Logan does not seem to like it very well, that Congress should take any notice of his conduct.

Like others of his party, he has published an address to vindicate his conduct. I supposed, before this time, Congress would have been loaded with petitions for repealing the alien and sedition bills. But I don't know that a single one has been laid before them. The more I consider those bills, the more am I convinced of their propriety and necessity. How can a government like ours, exist long without some restraint on the licentiousness of the press?"

About Jan. 15. Shaw in Philadelphia to W. E. Channing in Richmond, Va. "A journey to Mount Vernon has prevented me from having the pleasure of writing to you till the present date. Tuesday was a week since I returned. The object of my journey, and the badness of the roads, made it very unpleasant. I found Mrs. Washington, as you may well suppose, very much afflicted. We all, as lovers of our country and of virtue, deeply lament the loss of the General; but she, loving her country and virtue, equally with us, was connected with him by far stronger endearments. He was her husband, the partner of her joys and the soother of her sorrows. The General has kept a journal, containing a minute detail of every circumstance in his public life for many years. These will undoubtedly contain sketches of the American Revolution. The public prints are inaccurate, as they are in many other things which they say of him, when they assert, that he has left a professed history. His journal, with all his papers, his library, containing about fifteen hundred volumes, Mount Vernon, with four hundred acres of land, he has left to his nephew,

Judge Bushrod Washington. He has left a thousand pounds to a literary institution at Alexandria, and his fifty Potomac shares to a similar institution to be founded at the Federal city. All his negroes are to be made free after Mrs. Washington's decease.

"The reverse in favor of the French armies is very different from what we all hoped. The fortune of war seems everywhere to have turned against the Allied Powers. The want of success, however, will not seem so surprising, when we consider the jealousies and rivalries which must subsist among them. No event was ever the object of more speculation than the French Revolution. But speculations of this sort have proved as visionary as they have been numerous."

Jan. 16. Shaw to Walter in Boston. "I send you the prospectus, and the first number of the Portfolio, edited by Joseph Dennie, in Philadelphia. The work, I believe, will be conducted with ability. I wish you to obtain subscribers for him in Boston. Collect the advance money and send it on. The series of letters, giving an account of a tour through Silesia, is from the pen of J. Q. Adams. It will be extended, and contain much curious anecdote and interesting information. The translation of Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire, is by the same hand. Its beauties are conspicuous to all eyes. Large contributions from the same pen will be occasionally furnished. Supposing that you would like to take the Portfolio, I have ordered it to be forwarded to you, and advanced the price. If you consent, you can repay me. I feel a deep interest in the success

of this periodical, not only as a friend to the proprietors, but also as an American. I ardently wish to live in those days, when my country, by her munificence to learned men, by a true estimation of their productions, and by the cultivation of the fine arts, shall rescue herself from the imputation under which she now very justly lies; when America, from the number of her illustrious citizens and her literary fame, may be called *the eye of the world*, as the ancient city of Athens was the eye of Greece.

"The convention between us and France is still before the Senate. It is quite problematical how it will be decided. I do believe, that the consequences of rejecting it, would be unfavorable to the country. Soon after the convention appeared in England, Mr. King called on Lord Grenville, and had a long conversation about its merits. The latter told the former, that he perceived nothing in it, which ran counter to the treaty between them and us. As to the legislature of Pennsylvania, since the firm and noble conduct of the majority in the Senate, attempts have been made to abolish so necessary a branch. A proposition has been introduced into the House to exclude all English decisions from their courts of law. This measure is evidently designed as a thrust at the profession of lawyers."

Jan. 25. Thomas White of Philadelphia to Shaw in the same city. "Mighty effects have been attributed to the frequent use of the word, Citoyen, as though it had set all Europe in confusion. No.

If you look into the causes of that Revolution, you will trace it to the general depravity which had pervaded all ranks of people in that devoted country. We behold in it the effects of the indefatigable labor of philosophers for a long time past. They, at length, succeeded in giving loose to the passions of men, so that they could be restrained neither by reason nor law. We perceive the justice of God in making such promoters of anarchy, the first victims of its fury. The term, Citoyen, in holding out to men the fascinations of equal rank, no doubt contributed to advance the Revolutionary mania, but we must look to deeper causes for its origin."

Jan. 29. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "You have before this heard of the wonderful Revolution in France. Wonderful it is indeed, that after so many struggles for the shadow of liberty, they have now lost even this poor consolation. The democrats here are much incensed against Bonaparte. They consider him as the destroyer of liberty, the violator of the constitution, and a new Cromwell or Cæsar. But we hardly know what will be the issue. We anxiously look for peace, and regard it as a favorable circumstance, that our envoys must have arrived there soon after the mighty change. But I do not think that peace is the orbit of motion for Bonaparte. I have read Priestley, but I see nothing very extraordinary. I wish he would confine himself to chemistry. In this country, he might have lived with comfort. On his farm in Northumberland, he might have extended the boundaries of science. Roscoe, I hear,

is to write the life of Leo X. He was to have begun some time since, but the troubles in Europe prevented him from getting the papers from Italy, which Lord Hervey and other noblemen had agreed to use their influence to procure. Mungo Park's Travels in Africa have excited much curiosity. Our legislature have agreed to erect a statue to Washington on the lower floor of the new state-house. It will be magnificent. We are debating what to do with the old state-house. It seems to be intended, that it shall be pulled down and the space left open for a square."

Feb. 11. Shaw in Philadelphia to Wm. E. Channing in Richmond, Va. "In your last letter you ask, of what use is our standing army, or will it be, except to consume in idleness, what the hand of industry has raised? The question has a retrospective view, and involves another still more important. It is this, whether, at the time provision was made for raising the army, the situation of this country did not warrant Congress in having it done. What was then the situation of our country? 'The Revolutionary harpies of France, like ravenous birds of prey, fluttered over our heads.' I need not repeat to you, the base indignities which our ministers received, the refusal to acknowledge the sovereignty of the United States, the unwarranted demands made of us, the insults which our flag received on the ocean. Had not America risen up and proved to France that we were not the passive sheep which they thought us to be, and that we were determined to live free or die, we should not

have had the least shadow of any pretensions to honor or independence. What effect had the decided policy of our government on that of France? The door was immediately opened for peace. This change of conduct on her part, can be attributed to no other cause than our system of defence, of which the army was a part. Were the army disbanded, the arguments for such a step would go for subverting our whole system of defence.

"This situation, in the present convulsed state of the world, would be no enviable one. May we not suspect, that France waves the olive branch, to cause the disbanding of our army and laying up of our ships, so that she may, with greater ease, invade our country and subjugate its inhabitants? Still the question remains, of what use is our army or can it be? It prevents, in my opinion, a much greater one's being raised and much more expensive resources being called forth. It has shown, and will continue to show France, our determination to resist her encroachments. She would never have been deterred from hostilities against this country by an army on paper. If there be danger, say you, can any reliance be placed on this army? My partiality for my own countrymen would compel me, had I no other motive, to answer in the affirmative. They are American citizens, for no others are allowed to be enlisted; and although, in general, they have little or no property, they are attached to their country by strong ties. Here are entombed the bones of their ancestors. Here are their wives, their children, their fire-sides. I see no cause to

suspect their patriotism and fidelity. Democrats object to the army, not because they think it an impolitic measure, but because it is a measure by the misrepresentation of which weak men may be deluded. They think it will be employed by the government to execute their just laws; to quell insurrections, excited by artful statements. This, you may depend, is one grand cause for the unpopularity of the army.

'No man e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law.'

"You say, that the people of Virginia think their liberties endangered by this army. Would they think so, had they not been told it by designing demagogues? Is it possible that seven or eight millions of people can be thus imperiled from a force of twelve thousand men? Are not the liberties of the President, Senate and House of Representatives equally endangered? Every commission issued by the President, is virtually with the same terms, as were expressed by one of the most humane and wisest of the Roman Emperors. 'Take this sword,' said Trajan, when he presented it as the badge of office to Saburanus, whom he had appointed præfect of the Pretorian guards,—'remember it is your duty to use it for my defence, while I rule well; if I govern ill, your duty to your country, beyond your duty to me, will oblige you, as a good citizen and an honest man, to use it for my destruction.'"

Feb. 14. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in Boston. "Curious to know everything written,

respecting a man whose character I venerate, and whose writings have afforded me so much instruction and entertainment as Burke's, I have been induced to read a third life of him, by Charles McCormick. The author is a violent anti-ministerialist, and pours out the most unjust invectives against many traits in Burke's character, particularly in the latter part of his life. Still, his work exhibits talent and affords amusement. He relates the following anecdote. Some unknown person sent him these lines,

> 'Oft have we wondered, that on Irish ground
> No pois'nous reptile has e'er yet been found,
> Reveal'd the secret stands of nature's work,
> She saved her venom—to create a Burke.'

It happened, that Burke was shaving when he received this epigram. He was so irritated, that he ran into the street with the lather on his face, and was not able to complete the operation till two hours after. Mungo Park's Travels in Africa are to be reprinted in this city. I wish you would send out to London by the first vessel and engage there, on my account, two periodicals, the Anti-Jacobin and British Mercury. The latter is in French and English. It is conducted entirely by Mallet du Pan. We are all very impatient here to see Ames's oration.[1] The expectations are very high, I trust we shall be *highly* gratified. Noah Webster has published ten letters in answer to Priestley's last pamphlets."

Feb. 19. T. B. Johnson in Georgetown, Va., to

[1] On the death of Washington.

Shaw in Philadelphia. "Yesterday I heard from our mutual friend, Walter, who, if I may judge from the spirit of his letter, appears to retain his proverbial vivacity and good humor. You had, it seems, informed him of your journey to Mount Vernon, and of the renewal of our acquaintance. I am inclined to think, that you were not pleased with the Federal city. This does not surprise me. The customs and manners of the people, southward of Pennsylvania, differ materially from those of New England. Few travelers from that direction can be induced to tarry long with us. Still our claim, in regard to climate, is allowed. This spot has nothing to boast of, except beauty of situation and temperature of air. It will, however, in process of time, (perhaps not far distant,) be ranked among our most respectable cities. Its advancement, so soon as confidence shall be established, which will be on removing the seat of government hither, must be rapid. You will, in all probability, on your arrival, have occasion to regret the loss of intercourse with your friends of Philadelphia. I will do what I can to render your situation pleasant."

CHAPTER V.

Mrs. Washington—French Success—Eulogies on Washington—Bankrupt Law—Davila—Regent of Portugal—Kotzebue—Duel—Army—Dr. Parr—Sir William Jones—Canvass for Votes—Congratulation of the First Congress in "the Federal City."

1800, Feb. 25. From Mr. Shaw's mother, in Atkinson, N. H., to him. "Yesterday we assembled to express our sorrow at the departure of Humanity's Friend, Columbia's Patriot and Father. After all that has been poured forth by the orator and the eulogist, I presume that a simple detail of facts, and a faithful narrative of his useful life, will be the highest eulogium. We should rob this great man of a most valuable wreath, if we did not follow him into domestic life, and, among an assemblage of virtues, distinguish the exact economy, the nice order, the regular conduct, which marked his daily course. I have been told that, in all his multiplicity of affairs, he was but three days behind his business when he died. It may be truly said of Washington, that he went but 'little slower than the sun.' While we review the lives of those illustrious actors who have dignified our nature, and meditate on those traits which are estimable, may habits of vir-

tue be formed in us, and bring forth fruit, some fifty, some an hundred fold. Your late journey to Mount Vernon must have been attended with sad feelings, peculiar to your errand. The conduct of Mrs. Washington, as to the tomb, showed the deep affliction of her heart. Her answer to the President's letter, of which you had the honor to be the bearer, is an expression of female excellence, and shows, that though grief may oppress, yet it does not sink the mind. The assurance of your dear aunt, that you are free from vice, that no habit has polluted and debased your mind, is inexpressibly grateful to my soul. God be praised, that at an age when unbalanced passions have their greatest sway, and temptations appear in their most fascinating garb, you are preserved from their contaminating influence. Useful life, progressive virtue,—should be your motto. Riches and honors are but secondary considerations to such attainments.

"With trembling solicitude, I perceive the time fast approaching, when you will need to choose a profession for your support in life. It is an important affair. If you have selected one, I wish that you would direct your studies to that point. It is best for all to have some goal, to which they may devote their chief energies. Otherwise, they will gain no prize. I hope that, in your present style of living, you will contract no habits, as to food, dress, etc., which you may not easily lay aside without mortification and regret. By prudence in your affairs, you may obtain a situation, which will continue to afford you bread in due season. Thus pur-

suing the paths of rectitude, you will have a fond mother's blessing, and secure to her a source of the highest happiness."

Feb. 27. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in Boston. "I enclose you a newspaper of Virginia, edited by one Lyon, to show the violence of party spirit there. Did you know that Virginia, during the Revolution, passed an act authorizing the payment of money into its treasury, which was due from individuals of this country to creditors in Great Britain? May not this account for all their opposition to the English treaty, and for the prevalence of certain principles in that State?"

Artemas Sawyer in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "What will you say now of Europe? What an important change has taken place in France. Bonaparte, whom his enemies hoped and friends feared, was butchered by the Arabs, drowned in the Red sea, or led in fetters to the Tower of London, has passed the Rubicon, and become the chief of a mighty empire. This event must produce an alteration in the affairs of other nations. France has attained such an ascendency, that a single discordant note, struck in her own territories, will vibrate through Europe.

"The fever of politics has, for a few weeks, in some degree subsided. The fact is, that the spirit of parties is regulated, for the most part, by the contentions in Congress, where, as to the House, there has been less acrimony than for some years past. As for literature, we have a literary magazine published here, called the Columbian Phœnix, edited

by a blind man. The first number has been issued. The next may have more animation through the aid of Antony Pasquin."

March 3. Shaw in Philadelphia to Wm. E. Channing in Richmond. "Of the many eulogies and orations, which have been occasioned by the death of Washington, I have selected a few of the most merit, and inclose them for your perusal and acceptance. Consider the obligation not on your part in my presenting, but on mine in your receiving them. On Saturday, the 22d of February, the citizens of Philadelphia, like Achilles and his brave companions, over the tomb of Patroclus, exerted themselves in what manner they should, to excel each other in manifesting their regret for the death of Washington, their love for his virtues, veneration for his wisdom, and gratitude for his services. Of the four orations, delivered in this city, I heard but one, by Major Jackson, which is truly classical and meritorious, and which I send you. The simple story of Washington's life is his best eulogy."

March 4. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "We wander over old scenes, and regret the absence of friends who made us happy. The young oaks are stripped of their branches, before they are old. We are robbed of our friends, just as we begin to feel their value and excellence. Many of our hopes are disappointed before they are realized. Philosophy would tell us, that we must repress our gladness, and never expect good, but evil. I do not like this flinty doctrine. In winter we may properly anticipate the zephyrs of spring, the

fruits of summer, and the harvests of autumn. Come, then, ye ministers of happiness, bring roses and balmy winds, make the prospect pleasant and the reality blessed.

"The exhibition for Washington at Cambridge was handsome. Allston was thrilling and delightful, full of thoughts, fancy, and words of inspiration. I should have thought that he had lived on Helicon water and Apollo's food. Dr. Tappan exceeded his common excellence. He spoke eloquently, as a venerable seer of religion. Allston will not suffer his to be published, and my acquaintance with him is not sufficient to procure a copy.

"As to the negotiations of the French with our envoys, I believe Bonaparte would like to take this country under his kind keeping, and, bear-like, hug us to death. Sieyes is also an old fox. Reynard disliked the grapes, because he could not get them."

March 5. "I send you two eulogies of whose merits you may judge. I am absolutely tired of the business, and almost of the subject. Washington deserves the best of eulogists, but the puny scribblers of the day rather debase than exalt his fair fame. We all admire Truxton's conduct, but not the style of his communication. I wish modesty and bravery were more frequently united in great characters. Strong, I believe, will be elected on the whole, but legislative interference [1] is much disliked and openly reprobated."

March 11. "I am far from being indifferent to the

[1] Choice of Governor by the Legislature.

conduct of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Hope and fear are both alive; but I sometimes dread the effects of that spirit of opposition, which is so evident in their councils, and which appears to increase instead of diminishing. They are important States. There must be something 'rotten in Denmark,' which deliberately and publicly disannuls acts of the sovereignty of the United States. France could not wish for a better theatre to act her revolutionary tragedy upon than these two States. Lyon's papers evince the luxuriousness of that soil for the production of poisonous weeds. We have long been without news from Europe, but earnestly expect good intelligence soon. The new constitution, which the Dictator is forming, excites our highest curiosity."

March 17. Shaw in Philadelphia to Walter in Boston. "No doubt France would be pleased to take our country under their *bear-like* protection. So would every nation of Europe. They all look at us with an eye of jealousy. Whatever treaties we have made with them, will be observed no longer than they comport with their interest. I have spent my time here, this winter, very agreeably. We have all the grades of intellect, and all the variation of our species. I dislike and avoid large parties. I do not remember from whom Mr. Pickering quoted his expression about the tiger. The first I recollect to have seen applied in this way, was by Mr. John Q. Adams, in a series of papers which he published in the Centinel, under the signature of Columbus. I hope that before

this time, you have spoken to Nichols for the periodical publications, which I mentioned in a former letter. I have read the second number of the Rush Light.[1] It is written with great talent, but is full of calumny against one of the best men in the world. I send you a very pretty effusion in imitation of Ossian, by Mr. Linn, our minister. I have been able to make a complete collection of Burke's pamphlets, this winter, which I prize more than their weight in gold."

March 26. Dr. Thomas Welsh of Boston to Mr. Shaw in Philadelphia. "I received a line yesterday from John Russell, as follows. Mr. Russell, at the earnest desire of the first and most respectable characters in Boston, has it in contemplation to publish, in one or two handsome octavo volumes, the Political Discourses on Davila, and, in fact, he has pledged himself to the public in that form; but he is fearful, from the manner in which they were originally published and since republished, that errors may have crept into them. He has also understood, that the author[2] has yet numbers, which have never appeared. He, therefore, at the same time that he respectfully solicits the author's indulgence of the numbers not printed, requests to be directed in what manner the press can be corrected in both instances, so that the execution may be worthy of its author, both as it respects the correctness of those parts which appeared in Mr. Fenno's paper, and also that portion of the work, which may not have appeared in print."

[1] By Porcupine against Dr. Rush. [2] President John Adams.

Mr. Shaw replied, April 1, that there would be a compliance with Mr. Russell's proposition.

April 10. Shaw to Walter. "The Bankrupt bill has now become a law. It is thought that this law will prevent private frauds in the secretion of property, check the rage for speculation, and add to our national character in pecuniary concerns. An attempt has been made every Congress, since 1789, for such an enactment, though ineffectual till the present. It did once pass the House, but failed in the Senate. Such a law is supposed to have been one means of raising Great Britain to her great maritime power and pre-eminent political station in the world."

William Smith, merchant of Boston, to Shaw in Philadelphia. "Our envoys (to France) have been unfortunate in the delays they have met with in their passage, but it has given time for a new constitution to become organized. The correspondence with the British, in this time, will not, I presume, be unfavorable to their mission. The papers will announce to you the state of the elections the week past. It was very different in this town from what I expected. Every exertion was made by the jacobins. Many honest federalists voted on their side from various causes. It is not yet certain, that Mr. Gerry will be elected. The returns from many towns, in which Mr. Strong has a majority, are not yet received. It was urged at the Green Dragon in favor of Mr. G. that he was a friend of the President, and his appointment to France was a proof that the President had a high opinion of him. Mr.

Gill, I presume, is elected Lt. Governor. It is very uncertain whether he will live many days."

April 15. Shaw to Walter in Boston. "I am happy to hear that Gillies intends to continue his History of Greece. Although he appears to be no great researcher into politics, let Mathias say what he will, I do believe it to be the most accurate history of Greece in the English language. I have seen 'The Shade of Alexander Pope' by Mathias. I think it worthy of the author of the Pursuits of Literature. This is saying much, for I have read few productions equal to this work. The poem was occasioned by the residence of Grattan, ex-representative for the city of Dublin, at Twickenham in Nov. 1798. There is much classical criticism in this last, as in the former production from the same pen. They are reprinting it in this city. I had just finished, before I began this letter, the third part of the intercepted letters from the French army in Egypt, sent to the President from London. In a letter from Kleber, now commander in chief, we learn the forlorn situation in which Bonaparte left them.

"Since I wrote you last, I have seen Callender's 'Prospect before us.' It is calculated rather to injure the party, for which he is a pretended advocate, than to lessen the federal interest."

April 17. Walter to Shaw in Philadelphia. "I believe the Bankrupt law gives very general satisfaction.

"Bonaparte has ordered the standards of the Republic to be hung in black in honor of Washington.

It is said by the papers, that Erskine and Fox pronounced very eloquent eulogiums on Washington in the House of Commons.

"I saw Allston yesterday. He is very well, and was going to Hingham. He informed me, that Wm. (E. Channing) was tired of living in Virginia, and intended soon to return. I also saw Buckminster, who inquired about you."

April 20. Wm. Smith in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "Our late elections have turned out more favorable than was expected. The choice of Mr. Strong is almost certain.

"The influenza, which has visited your city this winter, has reached Boston."

April 22. Of this date is the copy of a curious communication, preserved by Mr. Shaw, from the Prince Regent of Portugal, addressed to the United States. After giving a long list of his titles, the language of the Prince follows. "The good correspondence and perfect harmony, which happily subsist between me and you, persuade me, that it will be very grateful to you to learn, that God has this day given me another daughter, by the happy delivery of the most serene Princess, Dona Carlota, my dear and beloved spouse. This event, as fortunate as it is agreeable, I lose no time in communicating to you, under the persuasion, that you will not fail to join with me in its celebration with that affectionate sincerity and candor, which corresponds with the very singular esteem and regard, in which I hold you. United States of America, may our Lord have you under his holy keeping."

April 24. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "Nothing from Channing. His virtues and talents will be honorably rewarded.

"The army of Egypt, according to your account, must be in a dreadful situation. Indeed, they must inevitably perish, unless Bonaparte finds some method to extricate them.

"Is it true, that Bushrod Washington intends putting the General's papers into some literary hand? If so, who is to be the biographer? It is said here, that Dr. Morse applied to the Judge. I much doubt the report."

May 10. Shaw to Walter. "I never wish to read another play of Kotzebue. The morals of them all have a pernicious tendency. We find, indeed, many excellent sentiments. Vice is administered with a mixture of apparent good, in order to make it more lovely. Like the gilded pill, they may and do conceal the fatal poison. His most conspicuous characters are vicious, and most obscure, virtuous.

"I doubt whether Dr. Morse applied to Judge Washington for the General's papers. Whoever has the use of them must reside at Mount Vernon. The Judge has determined that they shall not be removed thence. He intends to have a place built for them.

"I attended the Circuit Court at the trial of Cooper, who endeavored to prove, that the President had imposed a standing army on the country. His trial makes an octavo volume of more than three hundred pages. Among the tales, which the insur-

gents of Northampton County, etc. believed, was that Washington encouraged their opposition to the tax act. To this effect, a letter was forged with his name and circulated among them.

"A duel was fought in this city a few days since, by two members of Congress. The combatants were Messrs. Bayard and Champlin. The former challenged the latter, for certain epithets, applied to him in a speech. Bayard was slightly wounded in the knee. Champlin was considerably wounded in the cheek."

May. Letter from T. B. Johnson in Washington to Shaw in Philadelphia. "My mother received a letter from Mrs. Adams the other day, in which she mentions the determination of the President to visit this city. You, of course, will attend him. In a political point of view, I think this step very proper. You well know the prejudices of the States. Nothing can so effectually obviate the consequences of these prejudices, as the journey proposed. People will be pleased and gratified. It will give a spur to the exertions of the friends to the Federal city."

May 20. Wm. Smith in Boston to Shaw in Philadelphia. "Your favor of the 8th inst., I did not receive until yesterday, on my return from New York. I have found the attention of every one turned to the removal of Mr. Pickering, and the disbanding of the army. Except to a few, I have found it a pleasant topic. It is the general opinion, that the wheels of government should move with ease, and, if there is any obstruction, it should be removed. The dismission of the army has met

with almost a general satisfaction. The progress of our negotiation with France, and the present situation of Europe is such, as to remove all fear of any attack from that quarter. With a well regulated militia and a respectable naval force, we may feel ourselves safe.

"I presume you are now setting out on a tour with the President, to the Federal city."

May 24. From Silas Dinsmore,[1] then in Philadelphia, to Shaw there. "You have already been informed, that I have a claim against the United States, for expenditures in the Indian Department. The amount of my bill is the whole emolument for almost five years' hard service, and the only fund of my future prospects. I solicit your assistance, so far as it may be proper."

May. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "Our whole town is gone or going to meet and escort Governor Strong from Cambridge. We have our heads full of the coming election of President and Electors. We are sorry to find the balance of opinion throughout the Union so nearly equal.

"I hear that many fiery friends of college have cooled down to be stony sons of the world.

"I saw Buckminster yesterday. I believe that he is disappointed in not having the first oration at commencement. His good sense, however, will tell him that such things are forgotten in the course of a year, and that they have little effect in accelerating a man's progress in virtue and science.

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[1] Graduated from D. C., 1791, and had been Preceptor of Atkinson Academy in N. H.

"Nichols has a large collection of rare books. I had a long literary conversation there the other day with John S. J. Gardiner. He tells me that Roscoe's Lorenzo is an elegant work, particularly the history of Literature under the Medici. He told me, that he himself was a pupil of Dr. Parr in England, and that the account of the Pursuits of Literature concerning him are just; that the Doctor is really a man of extensive erudition, but of no prudence whatever, and, that it is owing to his folly in political matters, that he has never been elevated to high dignity in the church. He first conceived a great love for literature from Sir William Jones, who was his school-mate. Jones had some defect in his eyesight, that he could not well read at school, and used to make Parr read to him. By habit and conversation with Jones, he cherished a love for science. Mr. Gardiner is of opinion, that Sir William Jones was one of the very first scholars, that England has ever produced.

"Mr. Dexter will accept the secretaryship of war. Of course, I am to leave his office."

July 17. Thomas White in Philadelphia to Shaw in Quincy. "The political world remains much as it was, except what has arisen from the capture of our vessels by the English. This confirms the idea that their government is offended at ours for accommodating their differences with the French Republic. Such conduct is so obviously opposed to the true interests of Britain, I hope it will not be continued. She must well know, that if this country departs from the neutral position she has taken, it

must be for their own security, and not by the command of a superior power.

July 20. John Russell in Boston to Shaw at Quincy. "Presuming that the President may have a few leisure hours, while at Quincy, I request you would have the goodness to solicit his review of the numbers of Davila, as it is probable there may have accrued some inaccuracies in the printing of them. The arrangement of the divisions, as originally published, I think may be altered to advantage. Perhaps the President may see fit to omit something, or to enlarge on the subject. It would be of essential service to me, could the President be prevailed on to allow the use of his name as the author; but this is respectfully submitted to his discretion. The subscribers, as far as I have learnt, are not so numerous as I could wish. Still I am persuaded the work will sell, at least sufficiently to clear the expense, which, in these days of political absurdity, will be doing pretty well. Should the President not be in possession of a volume of Fenno's Gazettes, containing Davila,[1] I can supply him with one."

Aug. 8. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. "The Supreme Court are waiting for Judge Chase, who is said to be too much engaged in electioneering, to be able to attend. He is the

[1] John Russell, Aug. 23, wrote to Mr. Shaw, that he sent him a volume of the U. S. Gazette, that the President might examine three or four numbers at a time (of Davila)—then to be cut from the binding and sent to him (Russell).

only man in Maryland, perhaps, able to cope with Mercer at what they call a canvass. This is always held in different parts of the State of Maryland, and generally in the Southern States, as I am told, when there is known to be a great concourse of people, as at a horse-race, a cock-fight, or a Methodist quarterly-meeting. Here the candidates for political honors or preferment, assemble with their partisans. They mount the rostrum, made of an empty barrel or hogshead, harangue the sovereign people, and praise themselves at the expense of their adversaries' character and pretensions. Such was the mode lately pursued at Annapolis, Elk Ridge and elsewhere. Col. Mercer, a jacobin, is a fluent speaker. He is a candidate for the Assembly. Mr. Key, an eminent orator, is also a candidate for the same body; but in a different district. These gentlemen met on the same ground at Annapolis, and canvassed for votes."

August 17. Richard Peters, Jr., of Philadelphia, being at Belmont, to Shaw at Quincy. "Were will, power, you should long since have received a letter. But from the urgent necessity I am the slave of, by the duty I feel to fit myself to enter the bar, *dignus honore*, I have been hitherto prevented.

"Bonaparte is Bonaparte still. 'The child of fortune and of Mars,' he is not yet deserted by his parents. I suppose a general peace will be the next thing. Then French principles will have an unrestrained range. I wish that some 'Peter the hermit' would start up and preach a crusade against

the French. I believe that I would put on the armor of the faith and march. You dislike them so much, I should soon see Godfrey of Bouillon revived in yourself."

Sept. 23. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw at Quincy. "I enclose you the Aurora of this morning. I observe that the pieces under the signature of Decius, are ascribed to H. G. Otis. I have read some of the numbers, and have no doubt the author is rightly designated."

Sept. 29. "The Constitutionalist is written against the Defence and Discourses on Davila. It has attained No. 6, in the paper of this morning. Its author is Thomas Cooper, late of Manchester, Great Britain, now of Philadelphia. What do you think of our poetical warfare here? S. Ewing, your friend and correspondent, is 'Laureat to his honor.' He wrote Seneca in Wayne's paper. The Governor is dreadfully goaded by the combined labors of Parnassus. He threatens to make them desist. What a pity he has no gag-law in his favor."

Oct. 28. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "Mr. Otis has publicly declined being a candidate at the ensuing election. The federalists have fixed upon Josiah Quincy, Esq. The jacobins are making every exertion for Dr. Eustis. There is no doubt, in my mind, but the Doctor will be chosen. In to-day's paper he has denied having ever been the reviler of Washington, and the author of some letters, addressed to the Revolutionary army, advising them to turn their arms against their country. He will be supported by all the jacobins, all the mode-

rates, and all the men who have suffered by British spoliations.

"We have a new set of theatrical personages. We know nothing as to their merits. At any rate, I shall give them very little of my company. Let us strengthen our virtue and increase our knowledge. He who improves best his time, is the wisest philosopher."

Nov. 8. Shaw in Washington to Walter in Boston. "What shall I say to you of accommodations and buildings. At present, I can only write, that being one of the first occupants of the President's house, and among the first inhabitants of the new city, on the removal of the seat of government, which, no doubt, will be an interesting event in the annals of our country,—these things draw from my heart the aspiration, that Heaven's choicest blessing may rest on this city, so that it may indeed be a capital worthy of the name of Washington."

Nov. 15. John Russell in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "I take the liberty of soliciting your friendship in the early transmission of the speech, the answer, official papers, and generally whatever may be deemed by you of importance, and particularly what may relate to the negotiations with France. The present distance of Congress from this place, and the important state of the public mind at present, will render every thing that may transpire there of great interest. To be the first in promulgating such matters here, will give our Gazette a reputation, which will increase its circulation and usefulness.

"The Boston frigate has this moment arrived with a prize of twenty-six guns and three hundred men, which she was obliged to engage for three hours before capture. The Boston has lost three or four men, killed. Among them, was a Mr. Young, purser of the ship. He graduated at Cambridge two or three years since. He was a native of Bridgewater, and very deserving."

As a congratulation to the first Congress, convened in Washington November 22, the subsequent paper possesses an interest, which may well require its being preserved among this collection. It was handed to Mr. Shaw for the Bodies it addressed.

"To the President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States:

"We, the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, respectfully congratulate you on your first assemblage at the permanent seat of government, and desire we may be permitted to express to you the pleasing emotions which that interesting event has excited in our minds. We wish the temporary inconveniences and privations to which you may be exposed during the present session could have been more completely obviated; and at the same time we rely on your indulgence duly to estimate the exertions which have been made, and which we shall continue to make, to promote your comfort. When we consider the various advantages of climate, soil and navigation, attached to the position which has been wisely selected for the permanent seat of the American Government, we feel the

strongest assurances, that in a very short period every object of reasonable desire may be enjoyed here. On this occasion we are naturally led to the dear remembrance and contemplation of the virtues of the departed Father of his Country, whose name this rising city bears, and whose presence is only wanting to consummate the felicities of this auspicious day. May his surviving countrymen forever venerate the example of his life, as pure as it was splendid, and may this city be as lasting as his fame. Truly sensible of the many inestimable blessings, civil and religious, which we may enjoy, we embrace this opportunity of expressing our grateful acknowledgments to the instruments who, under an all-wise and gracious Providence, have been chosen for the administration of the legislative and executive functions of our excellent constitution, and duly appreciating our happy condition, we shall, with zeal and fidelity, assist and support our faithful rulers in the proper discharge of their important trusts. We implore the Supreme Ruler of the universe to preside over and guide your deliberations in this august temple. That justice and wisdom may distinguish your legislation upon the great interests committed to your care, and that you may, individually, experience the pleasure arising from a conscientious discharge of the duties of your important stations, and enjoy every blessing in the gift of Heaven, is our earnest prayer.

"In behalf of the Committee,

"LEONARD HARBAUGH.

"AMOS ALEXANDER."

CHAPTER VI.

Changes in Europe—French Affairs—Anonymous Letter—Dying Counsel—The Federal City as it was—Fears of the Constitution—Burr and Jefferson—Parental Advice—District of Columbia—Crisis—Portfolio—Weld's History.

1800, Nov. 23. J. S. Buckminster in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "Since commencement I have resided at Waltham, instructor of two of Mr. Lyman's children. He has now removed to Boston, to pass the winter. Here I daily see our old friend, Walter. He is one of those few to whom, upon meeting after a long absence we can heartily give the *convulsive* shake of the hand. Here, with Sawyer, we renew our old Socratic conversations. In these, you know, the warmest dispute is but the strongest bond of union, and a burst of wit or satire, far from being a damper, is the very spirit of the conversation.

"Since I wrote you last, events in the political world have been exceedingly momentous. We have seen a vast, but ill-cemented confederacy, dissolved. We have seen the omnipotent power of genius concentrating the resources, and reanimating the enthusiasm of a nation, which, twelve months

since, we thought reduced to mere dust in the balance. We have seen another great empire exhausted, and gasping under the pressure of a most oppressive war, while her *subsidizing* ally is still robust and vigorous in her *gold and silver sinews*, notwithstanding the wounds of war, and the emaciating power of famine. Great men, in many countries, have fallen, one after the other, from lofty stations in society, like the successive ruin of massy columns in the remaining temples of antiquity.

"From the aspect of some late elections, it might be concluded that the contagion of jacobinism has penetrated into the bones and marrow of our country.

"Write me some description of your situation. Weld, in his Travels through North America, says the President's house in Washington is the handsomest building in the country."

Nov. 24. Shaw in Washington to Walter in Boston. "I have lately seen some of the French Gazettes, which afforded me more amusement than instruction. They represent the French people, in warm terms, as being very happy under their present government. That they are so, I am not disposed to dispute. Since the usurpation of Bonaparte, their situation is certainly much ameliorated; the arts and sciences are, in some measure, revived. I believe that they are in a better situation than they have been since the Revolution. But I cannot believe, that the present system of government there will be permanent. A foreigner, like Bonaparte, among a people to whom foreigners are particularly

obnoxious, whose fundamental principle of rule is, *sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas*, cannot, I think, long retain his present ascendency. Should he be removed from the theatre of action, what would become of the permanency of their constitution. Like all which preceded it, in the language of their philosophy, it would soon be consigned to 'an eternal sleep.'

"I never heard it suggested, till in the late Boston papers, that Dr. Eustis was ever suspected as the author of the anonymous letter.[1] It has always been attributed to General Armstrong, of New York. He is now chosen Senator in the place of Mr. Lawrence, resigned. I would send you Aristides in answer to General Hamilton's letter, but I see it reprinted in the Boston papers."

Dec. 2. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw in Washington. "The other debates excited some unpleasant reflections in my bosom. I feel dissatisfied, that the Legislature of the Union should spend days and weeks in debating on the subject of that nature, which cannot but revive painful thoughts in the minds of the surviving friends and relatives of Washington, and reflect neither honor nor credit on themselves. I am in principle opposed to anything like a monument, or mausoleum, or statue, commemorative of the life and services of that good man; not from any wish to detract from the merit of them, but because I think every device I have ever seen falls short of such a design."

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[1] Encouraging the soldiers of the Revolution to resist our government.

Dec. 8. Walter in Boston to Shaw. "Since my last, what a melancholy scene have I witnessed! My ever-honored father has been called to join the hosts of heaven. He died on Friday, the 5th of December, of an inflammation of the lungs and the pleurisy. His disorder was first occasioned by a severe cold. He was confined to his chamber about ten days, during which period he exhibited most perfect resignation and fortitude. I assure you, that his conduct in his dying hours, his perfect reliance on the God of his fathers and of a blessed Redeemer, has confirmed my belief in the Christian religion. The day before his death, he took the holy sacrament with all his children, then blessed us all, gave us the most salutary counsels and the most comfortable doctrines. He was perfectly rational to his last moments, and, not ten minutes before he died, he uttered these consoling words, 'I go to meet the Bridegroom with my lamp trimmed,' and then closed his eyes with his own hands, and fell asleep in Jesus."

Dec. 9. Charles Chauncey in Philadelphia to Shaw in Washington. "I am gratified by your reflections on the French. To me, it is an obvious opinion, that the excellence of government is founded in its adaptation to the state of the society it rules. There is little that savors of permanency in the present character of the French. It is not irrational to suppose, that the present quiescence in France proceeds rather from extreme lassitude, consequent on successive revolutions, than from any attachment to stable principles. Their constitution

is founded upon no recognized state of moral habit in the people, and the government is manifestly dependent for its continuance on the ascendency of a single individual.

"I have just returned from an excursion to Pittsburgh. As to the western parts of Pennsylvania, I can only briefly observe, that there is an obvious variation in the moral and intellectual situation of the people there, from that of the people in New England. But in every quarter I visited, I had the satisfaction of meeting some few men, true to the cause of good government, sound morals and sober faith."

Dec. 11. Shaw in Washington to Walter in Boston. "Compared with the two very pleasant winters which I spent in Philadelphia, I fear this will be rather unpleasant. There was pure enjoyment in abundance of books and a few choice friends. Here the reverse. I am acquainted with one pleasant family. But they live so far off, if I go to spend an evening with them, it is ten chances to one, that on my return home I lose my way in the woods, or stumble over piles of bricks, or fall into some new cellar. The respectable inhabitants, generally speaking, are so immersed in speculation on houses and lots of land, you can derive little improvement or happiness from their society. Without books or friends, I feel very much as the great and good Dr. Clarke said he did, when he buried his wife, 'As if his soul had separated from him.'

"Early in life, I was carefully taught by my ever dear and honored parents, the shortness and uncer-

tainty of life, and the vanity of all human enjoyments, and the consequent importance of improving well the little time, which would be allotted to me in this transitory world. Next to the approbation of my own conscience and that of my God, I desire the esteem of worthy friends.

"I enjoy equally with you the firm and patriotic conduct of the Senate of Pennsylvania. By their decision, they have won lasting honor. The House at last acceded to the proposition of the Senate, which, I have reason to believe, was in consequence of expresses from jacobins in Congress, on the supposition that Jefferson and Burr would receive a majority of the votes in South Carolina. By the unfavorable news which we have received from this State, I look upon the election as decided in favor of Jefferson and Burr."

As a specimen of the general fear which pervaded the federal party, that all would be lost, as to our national prosperity, if they failed to have the ascendency in Congress, we give the subsequent extract. It is in a letter from Russell and Cutler of Boston to Shaw in Washington. Dec. 11. "If South Carolina be faithless enough to drop Mr. Adams, there is cause to suspect, that the constitution is of short life, and we are fitted for the open and avowed attacks of foreign and domestic faction."

Dec. 15. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "I send you your Washington and Anderson's Correspondence. The work is not what I expected. Only one perfect letter from General

Washington occurs in the whole book. This, you perceive, is a great bore on the American people."

Dec. 16. "Rev. John Lathrop of Boston to Shaw in Washington. "Yours of Nov. 19, accompanying the prospectus of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and a letter from Count Rumford, to be laid before the Academy of Arts and Sciences, came as directed, and I thank you for your attention. We have been and are still very anxious to hear a favorable account of the election of President and Vice President. When I say *we*, I have respect to the steady, old federalists, who were the friends of the Revolution in those trying days, and who now wish to preserve the rights and liberties of our country. We have people among us, who hope Mr. Jefferson will be our next President, and others, who hope Mr. Pinckney will be chosen. But I flatter myself with an opinion, that a majority of the wise and good hope and pray the votes will be for the man who now presides, and whose administration has been attended with singular blessings."

Dec. 19. Walter in Boston to Shaw in Washington. "I cannot discover sufficient reasons for preferring Burr to Jefferson. I believe that the political chemistry of the latter, as President, would contain acids and alkalies for absurd experiments, but that he would act with the prudence, which arises from fear, and with the caution, which is characteristic of a man of speculation. As for Burr, he has intriguing qualities of a wonderful nature. He is desperately wicked, and possesses great abilities. I believe he would stop at nothing to ac-

complish his purposes. Unless the federalists unite their energies, I shall tremble for the institutions of revered liberty. I rejoice at the honorable conduct of General Pinckney."

Dec. 27. Charles Chauncey, in Philadelphia, directed to Shaw in Washington. "What do I say of the late election? I cannot foresee the future destinies of my country, but it is my serious opinion that she has every evil thing to fear, from the misrule of unprincipled men. We have demonstrated, that a people with much information, and strongly fortified against error by ancient and virtuous habit, are unfit to govern themselves. In the infancy of our policy, we have mocked at the monitions of our sagest men. The government of Pennsylvania goes on in the manner to be expected from the character of its first magistrate. A proposition has been introduced into the House of Representatives, to exclude all English decisions from our courts of law. This measure is designed as a stab at our profession, but there is more of malice than of wisdom in the design. It was expected by some of the federal men here, that the unwarrantable demeanor of our Governor would make enemies, in all quarters, to himself and his cause. But, in my western excursion, I convinced myself that the effect has been widely different. Democracy has progressed, since McKean's elevation, with rapid strides. There is no reliance on the people as a *sovereign*. They are whimsical and arbitrary."

Dec. 31. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "The die is cast. Jefferson is announced the President. I

will not despond. I trust that the patriot will stand unmoved by calumny, unsubdued by malice, unconquered by the arts of insidious friends; that his bow will abide in strength, and his integrity preserve him, supported by the mighty God of Jacob.

"You, my dear son, must feel particularly affected by this event, and, with me, anticipate with regret the time when you must leave the best of friends and benefactors. Though bereaved, at a most critical time, of your earthly parent, you have shared largely in the beneficence of that Being, who is a father to the orphan and clothes even the lily of the field. Ever since you have quitted your collegiate life, you have been in a situation to increase your knowledge; happy in being surrounded by an assemblage of virtues, fitted to elevate your motives, form your morals and improve your manners. It affords me the most heartfelt pleasure, that I have reason to think, that you have not misspent so precious a season. But neither you nor I can wholly divest ourselves of anxiety, respecting the course of life you must soon pursue. I hope you will form your measures with prudence. Let them be the result of advice and premeditation. In whatever situation you may be, or whatever profession you may choose, may you study to act your part, as one who is responsible, and must render an account."

1801, Jan. 5. Shaw in Washington to Walter in Boston. "One of the bills before Congress concerns the District of Columbia. This, as reported, excites much clamor among the inhabitants. You can have no idea of the clashing interests and dis-

cord, which prevail among them. Those of the eastern part are anxious and active to have the public buildings erected among them, so that population may increase there; those of Georgetown are alike engaged for the improvements of the other extremity; while those of the centre are equally hostile to both of these projects. These three different interests are powerful, and arrayed against each other. You cannot wonder, therefore, that the city has made no greater progress. In short, they seem to be in a condition, like that called by Hobbes, a 'state of nature,—the war of every man against every man.' The bill for a mausoleum to Washington has passed the House. They have appropriated two hundred thousand dollars for the object. I confess I do not like the idea of a mausoleum. Such a thing has not been heard of in modern times. It has no resemblance in this country. It appears to me not so proper as an equestrian statue, or a marble monument. Travelers who may look on it, will say as Anaxagoras did, when he viewed the pile raised by Artemisia, in honor of her husband, Mausoleus,—whence the name is derived,—'How much money changed into stones!'

"I send with this a pamphlet of William Gifford. As a satirical performance, it has much merit. It will afford you pleasure. I will try for a Spanish Telemachus, but it is not likely that I shall succeed. There is nothing of the kind in this District."

Jan. 6. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw in Washington. "I presume the President will re-

ceive by this mail, the prospectus and first number of the Portfolio. There is much original and valuable matter in it, which I sincerely hope may flourish."

Jan. 10. William H. Sumner at Roxbury to Shaw in Washington. "By Mr. T. B. Adams's politeness, Mr. Forbes and myself got a passage in an extra stage to Baltimore. The company of Mr. Adams from thence to Philadelphia much conduced to the pleasure of my journey. He is an excellent traveling companion. His anecdotes amuse, his politeness pleases, and his intelligence interests and entertains you.

"I once knew a rich man, who feed a lawyer for his advice, which was given, and was the advice of an honest man; but it did not suit the inclination of the client. The next time, he feed a lawyer who advised him to act as he wished, and thus gratified his vicious inclination. Such appears to be the situation of our country. Our President has administered the government with too much honesty. The corrupt propensities of the people have not been satisfied. They must now have a President, who will aim to gratify their wishes more than to secure their best good. When Socrates was dead, the people mourned for him and his accusers were condemned. The President is now honored by his enemies, and many of his opposers regret their success.

"What are we to expect from the next administration, is a general question. You will perceive by the Centinel, that its supporters are solicitous for

the election of Burr. One reason which prevails with honest federalists is, that the government is failing, and our political affairs are approaching a crisis, and that Burr is the most decisive and will hasten it on. The appointment of Mr. Jay is a high consolation to the friends of government, not only for the strength he will give our independent judiciary, but also that it keeps him in view of the public eye."

Jan. 12. George W. Kirkland[1] in Washington to Mr. Shaw. "I have mentioned that a Lieutenancy in one of the regiments of infantry, would be most acceptable to me, were I indulged with a choice. In any event, an appointment in the military school would involve a kind of duty, to which I should attend with diligence and pleasure. I arrived here on the 22d of June last, where I have been waiting in suspense. To calculate the remains of my scanty purse, would not require an elaborate display of arithmetical talents. Since the first of December, I have, in conformity to the order of General Wilkinson, and from the daily expectation of an appointment, superintended the recruiting service in this city. I am well aware that my individual wishes are not to be gratified, unless they are compatible with the interest of my country, nor would I make myself of too much importance. Colonel Smith sent recommendatory letters, that I should be retained in service and not superseded, as early as the 31st of May."

[1] Brother to President John T. Kirkland, and son of the missionary.

January. Shaw in Washington to Walter in Boston. "The judiciary bill has passed the House by a majority of eight. It has been considerably altered, perhaps for the better. If you recollect, last session, there were two bills presented to the House. The present, as it has passed, is more agreeable with the first. It contemplates the abolishment of the present Circuit Courts only; the District Courts still to remain Courts of Admiralty, etc., as they were. The United States are to be divided into Districts, and these Districts classed into six Circuits, and each Circuit to have three judges. Additional District Courts are, also, to be established in the Districts of New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. There is no doubt but a majority of the Senate will agree to its becoming a law. This will be a great thing.

"For the three last days, the House have been occupied on the question whether the sedition law shall be renewed or not. This occasioned a very interesting and animated debate, and as great a display of eloquence as they have had for some time. Mr. Bayard made a long and elegant speech, which he concluded by the most clear and satisfactory defence of common law, that I have ever heard. Mr. Gallatin answered him. Mr. Otis, with his usual ability, replied to Mr. Gallatin. The question was taken on Friday. Forty-eight were for, and forty-eight against. The Speaker decided it in the affirmative. This was on the first reading of the bill. Two or three of the democratic members

have since arrived, and there is great reason to fear that it will not be carried on the second reading. I wish the law, with some alterations, to be permanent. To establish a government, founded on *public opinion*, and then allow this opinion to be misled and corrupted by the lowest miscreants of society, who have talents to invent falsehood, is not my system. No. Government should be respected, character should not be wrongly attacked with impunity.

"A bill has been reported to the House for the government of the District, similar to the system proposed by 'Epaminondas,' which, I think, is a tolerably good one. I hope it will pass. It is absolutely necessary, that Congress should assume immediate jurisdiction over the District. At present, it shows very little of law, order, or even civilized life. An energetic government will add to its respectability, establish a degree of harmony among the citizens, if any thing can, and thus promote its advancement.

"I was pleased with Anderson's long letter, and think it contains much useful information. Sir John Sinclair has published a number of letters, which he received from General Washington, in a rich and beautiful style. He has had fac similes of them engraved. They are on agricultural subjects.

"Before you receive this, the Portfolio must have reached Boston. I hope and trust you are pleased with it, and will exert yourself to obtain subscribers. It will be an excellent literary production; will deserve and receive encouragement. I have obtained

nearly fifty subscribers in this city, and collected the money in advance. Many gentlemen of Congress have honorably interested themselves in its circulation. Dickins is a young man of considerable taste, respectable family, and pure principles. I have passed many delightful hours in his shop."

January 13. Thomas B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw. "Your pamphlets are very seasonable and acceptable. The detail of Congressional proceedings, with which you have furnished me, is by far the most satisfactory of any I have seen. The judiciary bill is one of the first magnitude, and must be passed this session, if the federal gentlemen have any anxiety for the public good. Able lawyers enough are to be found, and who will eagerly accept the office of elevation to the Bench under an improved system; but the arduous service, imposed by the present establishment, is a discouragement not easily overcome. I hope Mr. Ingersoll will be allowed till February to make up his mind. He will then be at Washington in person, and can be consulted as to his determination. He will accept the office of Associate Judge, if the new law be passed. It is reported that Mr. Jay has declined, but I know not on what authority.

"The Portfolio goes on *swimmingly*. Several active and influential gentlemen have entered so largely into the plan of promoting its success, that subscribers multiply with rapidity. I read Dennie some of your observations, and he discovered a grateful sense of your zeal and activity in furthering his views. The large contribution from the pen of

J. Q. A., in the last number, has been very favorably received. Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire appears in a neat and elegant attire."

Jan. 16. Shaw in Washington to J. S. Buckminster in Boston. "What shall I say to you of the metropolis of the United States? 'Cities shall grow where forests late have stood,' which might be paraphrased, This is a city growing in the midst of woods. The habits, manners and customs of the people here, are very different from those of New England. Some of the planters have fortune, talents and principle; but the far greater number of the inhabitants are poor, unprincipled and intemperate.

"Since you wrote me, the revolution among the French presents us a different aspect. From the extreme of liberty and equality, they have gone to the extreme of despotism. All of a sudden, the hero, whom the world had destined to die in Egypt, reappears in France to wield the sceptre. How long he will thus continue is very problematical.

"Mr. Weld did not continue long in this country. He collected his information from persons of little intelligence, and returned to England, with pretended disgust for our institutions and character, to publish a book. This is written with some talent, but every page is a libel on our country."

CHAPTER VII.

Neutral Rights — Admiralty Law — Literary Journals — Political Parties—Jefferson and Burr—Duel—Popularity Fickle—Study of Law — Introductory Letters — Floridas — President Adams's Remarks—Yellow Fever—College.

1801, Jan. 20. From Walter in Boston. "The last news from Europe is singular and important. Singular, because Russia was the ally and apparent friend of Great Britain; now, she is the determined enemy. Important, because the great question of neutral rights is to be determined by serious war. The Northern Powers have long seen with jealousy, that the English have been triumphant on the ocean. With their united forces and the navies of France, Holland and Spain, they will endeavor to enforce their opinions. As an American, I think the present law of nations is unfavorable to our extensive commerce, unprotected as it is by a respectable navy. But the present national law is more equitable, and better founded on the nature and constitution of individual and civil man, than the one that is advocated by the Northern Powers. As to the event, I have little doubt that the English, by their great preponderancy on the ocean, will soon

break to pieces the apparently formidable coalition. All the leagued powers are brave and determined, but the English are superior in experience, and equal in numbers.

"I like Gifford on Pindar. There is in the present age, a spirit of egotism, which obscures the brightness of the best productions. It is so with the present pamphlet; was the case with the Pursuits of Literature, and other productions of the last year. I have lately seen a magazine edited by Bisset. It contains a life of Pitt, and another of Fox. They are very handsomely delineated, I presume by Bisset himself. He has published a second enlarged edition of Burke's life, with original letters and a more full account of his early life."

Jan. 21. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw in Washington. "The exertions which you have made for the diffusion of Dennie's paper, are gratefully acknowledged by him. He will attend to your suggestions, and supply his subscribers with punctuality.

"I have just met with a small work, purporting to be a translation from the Italian, called 'Romans in Greece.' It was sent to Dickins by Nancrede from Boston. It is worth your reading, if you never saw it. I shall send you one. The object of it seems to be to point out the affinity and striking resemblance of the scenes, which are acting in our day, to those of remote antiquity, and the parallel between the conduct of the Romans in Greece, and the French in Italy, Holland, Germany, Egypt; in short, wheresoever their armies have successfully

penetrated. It is drawn with precision and ability.

"Samuel Harrison Smith has, I find, taken up his Congressional observatory in the upper gallery, by being brushed off from the lower floor. He is very provoking to the honorable Speaker. I could not help laughing at the keen satire he vented on one occasion, when he said that, for his part, he did not profess to understand the Speaker always, when he heard distinctly all he uttered."

Jan. 29. J. Wagner to Shaw. "Enclosed are extracts of Mr. King's Letters to the Secretary of State, respecting General Miranda's[1] project. I have carefully searched for, and do not find, any letter from the latter to the President."

Jan. 29. T. B. Adams in Philadelphia to Shaw in Washington. "I enclose you another set of the Portfolio for distribution. The Journal of the Silesian Tour is considered here as the most interesting of all the contents. No. 5, is a beautiful and classical letter from the same hand. Our lawyers are gone off to-day for the city. Mr. Ingersoll will give in his resignation. I hope Mr. William Tilghman will be his successor. Lieut. Parker, of the Navy, is going to-morrow, and I give him a line for you."

Jan. 30. From Richard Peters, Jr., in Philadelphia. "Let not my long silence argue a want of love for you. I have been projecting and am now preparing a work for the press. Start not. It is but a collection of law tracts. There is no method, say the best writers, so beneficial in impressing a

[1] To revolutionize the South American provinces.

subject on the mind as writing on it. I wish to study and obtain an intimate acquaintance with admiralty law. I intend, therefore, to collect and write upon that subject. Many have been the changes in our political hemisphere since I saw my friend. Calculation has closed her book on her politicians, and a torpor prevails universally. The publication of the Portfolio must give you, as a literary man, much pleasure. Dennie has resumed his preaching garb, and wears it with grace. You may promise yourself a dish of entertainment of various kinds, even seven days, for the number of correspondents are great. The Gazette, United States, has another edition of ancient and tried principles, and throughout the Union there appears a general resurrection of literature and political truths. You will rejoice at this. You will join me in the wish, that the sun of reform, which now only appears above the edge of the horizon, shedding a few rays through a troubled and cloudy atmosphere on our thirsty land, may proceed to its meridian splendor."

Jan. 30. From Charles Chauncey, jr. "I thank you for your frank, spirited and ingenious communication. The hurly-burly of politics, and the strange and astonishing disorder of things in our country, is sufficient to sicken at the first glance of the subject. What shall we not say, when the people are so cheated as to exchange rulers of excellence for others far inferior? Shall we not conclude that our government is a baseless fabric? Efforts are making to revive the drooping character of our

literary journals. The Portfolio, it is hoped, will be respectable. The New England Palladium, under the direction of Mr. Dutton, and the Gazette of the United States, conducted by my friend Mr. Bronson, promise to be effectual in the cause of sound principles."

Feb. 4. Rev. John Lathrop of Boston to Shaw in Washington. "Yours of the 28th December, I had the pleasure to receive, for which I beg you to accept my thanks. I feel with you the mortification, which the most valuable part of the people in the United States feel, in the decision of the important election. Sincerely do I join in the pious request, 'that the all good God will still continue to shower down his blessings, as the dew of heaven, on our beloved country.' There is certainly no man on earth, for whom I feel a higher esteem, than I do for President Adams. I am proud that the New England States gave him every vote. He will retire with dignity. At his tranquil abode, he will be esteemed as the friend of religion, of rational liberty, of good government, and of man. I send you a copy of my Century Discourse."

Feb. 8. From Dr. Cotton Tufts at Weymouth. "The issue of the late election is far from being pleasant, even to the jacobins amongst us. It seems to be anticipated here, that Burr will obtain the vote in the House of Representatives; but at this distance from the seat of government, we can form but a slender conjecture. Time, however, must determine this, as well as the future administration of government, whether it will be such as has been

predicted or not. Submission becomes here the most necessary virtue."

Feb. 15. Russell & Cutler of Boston to Shaw in Washington. "As it is probable, that in closing the present session of Congress, there will be some matters of high importance decided, some appointments, and, we hope some farewell address from our beloved Chief, we request, as a particular mark of your friendship, to furnish us with them at as early a period as your convenience will allow. Of incidents we have but one to relate, which occurred at our theatre on Friday evening, at the representation of the 'Lock and Key.' In it one of the actors, in the person of a British tar, sings a song in praise of British seamen, with an allusion to the capture of a French frigate by the Arethusa. This song, though possessing little merit, and in no way noticed by the federal part of the audience, excited indignant feelings in the hearts of the jacobins present, and they accordingly hissed it, but were soon overruled. On the next evening the same play was re-acted, and an immense number collected. The hissing, as before, commenced, but was not suppressed without great disturbance and many black eyes and purple noses."

Feb. 15. From T. B. Adams in Philadelphia. "We have heard of the proceedings in the Representative chamber as far as the twenty-second ballot. We have admired that firmness which puts the issue of the choice upon strength of nerves rather than numbers. I have but little expectation that the thing will go through as it began. Some-

body will go over to the majority, but it is hard to say, or even conjecture, who this will be. The Aurora threatens to seize on the public arms, and force down the man of the people upon us.

"The desperation of the jacobins is almost indescribable, and I know not how soon it may show itself in acts of tumult and violence. Yesterday I was walking in Chestnut street, in the middle of the afternoon, and passed three men, of whom I took no notice at the time. Before I was beyond hearing distance, one of them, in a loud voice, said, 'That cockade will be very little longer in fashion; it wont last but a few days more; might as well be laid by.' I shall continue to wear the cockade so long as I have a head to wear a hat, if agreeable to myself."

Feb. 23. Shaw to Walter in Boston. "The election of President occupied the House six days and one night. The choice lay between Jefferson and Burr.

"On Friday there was more warmth and more confusion in the House, than I ever recollect to have perceived there. It was occasioned by a resolution to censure the Speaker for turning Smith out of the Representatives' apartment. Smith is a democratic printer and editor of a paper in this city. He had been admitted to take minutes of the proceedings. In one of his papers he misstated something the Speaker said in his chair. The latter took occasion to rectify the error. This Smith resented, and published in his next paper a violent phillipic against the Speaker, who, therefore, forbid

him to appear there again. After the resolution was debated some time, the previous question was moved. Then Livingston rose and began to discuss the main subject. The Speaker told him he was not in order. He replied that he was, and then said, 'I appeal to the House; I will see if they will support you in every thing.' The majority of the members supported the Speaker, much to their honor. The sedition bill is not continued. This I regret. I send you a tract, written by a German, which contrasts the French and American revolutions. The author seems to have more accurate ideas of the principles on which our revolution was conducted, than ninety-nine out of a hundred among our own countrymen. I send you, also, 'Thoughts on the Increasing Wealth of the United States,' by Blodget. Duane is in the city. The democratic members of the House have given him a dinner. To-morrow they give one to Mr. Jefferson."

Feb. 25. A joint committee of the Houses in Congress request information from Mr. Shaw relative to the furniture of the President's house, so that whatever is needed may be supplied with the least inconvenience to Jefferson's family.

February. Shaw in Washington to his aunt Adams. "I had the pleasure to receive your very kind letter of the 14th of February, for which I pray you to receive my honest thanks. I should not have neglected answering it till this late date, had I not been uncommonly occupied in business. Soon after you left us, the election was decided in

favor of Mr. Jefferson for President. A majority of none of the New England States were finally in his favor. For the legislators of our country to be obliged to vote either for Jefferson or Burr, was not unlike a man in the chamber of a house on fire; if he ran down stairs he would probably be burnt, if he jumped from the window he would be in danger of breaking his limbs. When Stewart announced Mr. Jefferson's election in his paper, he placed at the head of the paragraph, the eagle reversed, with the motto 'E pluria uno.' I asked him what he meant by it. His answer was,

'The Eagle's flight
Is out of sight.'

"Gentlemen here speak confidently of the persons who are to fill the executive departments. Samuel Smith gives it out under his own signature, that Madison will be Secretary of State, and Gallatin his secretary; Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney General. He also stated to Mr. Stoddart, the Secretary of the Navy, that this office had been offered to him, and that Mr. Jefferson remarked, if he could not have ministers respectable for talents and reputation, he would not accept the office, for which he was chosen.

"The President has made the appointments under the new judiciary act, which are already announced in the papers. The selection is highly approved."

March 20. Shaw in Quincy to William Wells in England. "Your letter of the 15th November from Liverpool, I did not receive till the last of February. I had often thought of you in the many cold

storms, which we have had this season, and had anxiously wished to hear of your arrival long before the welcome guest arrived. Though its course has been long and devious, it found a joyful reception in the bosom of your friend. I rejoiced much to hear, 'that the remorseless deep had not closed o'er the head of my much lov'd Lycidas.' Write me long and frequent letters. Inform me about the particulars of your journey, the politics and literature of England. Among the events of our country is a fatal duel, fought by Mr. Rutledge and Dr. Senter. The latter was charged with improper familiarity with the wife of the former. This was the subject of much conversation in Newport. It was chiefly occasioned by the visits of Senter, in disguise, to the family of Rutledge in Weathersfield, Connecticut, to which place they had come from the South. Last summer, Senter went to Europe as an attendant physician to a lady in ill health, and returned to Charleston, S. C. some time in January. Rutledge was there and heard that Senter had gone to his house, a few miles from the city. He hastened thither, and seeing him in the hall, discharged a pistol at him and shot away one of his fingers. Senter escaped and returned to Charleston. The next day Rutledge followed, found and challenged him. They fought in the neighborhood of Savannah. Senter was disabled by being wounded in the legs, which was succeeded by the lock-jaw and his speedy death.

"Congress will probably adjourn on the 18th or 19th of April. During the present session, they

have mostly attended to alterations of the Constitution as to the election of President and Vice President, measures relative to the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, etc. Before you sailed you must have known the determination of the democrats to renounce Burr for their candidate as Vice President, at the next election, because, they assert, that at the last election, he intrigued with the federalists to supplant Jefferson, and to be chosen President himself. They have accordingly elected Governor Clinton of New York to supply Burr's place.

"Adieu my dear Wells.

> 'Think on thy friend when thou haply seest
> Some rare note, worthy object of thy travel.' "

April 1. It appears, that on this day Mr. Shaw entered the office of William Sullivan of Boston, to pursue the study of law. While in the discharge of his duties as secretary to President Adams, he made himself extensively acquainted with the character of public men, as well as with the literature of the times. Such improvement enabled him to enter with advantage on his new course. Though turned by the political wheel from an eligible station to another more private, the change by no means abated his zeal for the public good, or discouraged his efforts of preparation for his chosen profession.

April 5. From T. B. Adams in Philadelphia. "The letter, which is published in the Commercial Gazette, is from the Washington Federalist. I had read it with great satisfaction, in manuscript. I

hope to grasp the hand[1] that wrote it, in a few months. He will find it attended with inconvenience to recommence at the bar. When he does it, the good people, perhaps, will some time or other choose him a Representative. It is not pleasant to depend on popular election for public employment.

"The plan you have adopted for yourself, I think judicious. I wish you much success. While you are reading law, there may occur some vacancy, into which you may step from the office of your patron. But upon this you cannot calculate. It matters little, however, whether there be few or many lawyers, in the same place, for business will always be done by a few. I am not much in the habit of expressing the anxiety, which sometimes perplexes my mind, on the subject of my own professional success. Two or three years must pass before I can reasonably expect that my business will afford me competent support. Very consolatory, upon my word. But of this, somewhat too much.

"I send you the Farmer's Boy. We are to pass sentence, this evening, on a new historical play, written by Charles Ingersoll. It is called 'Edwy and Elgiva.' The story, you will remember, is to be found in the first volume of Hume. The cast of characters you have enclosed, and, on Monday, you shall hear the result. All the town are informed who wrote the piece, and it now stands upon its deliverance under less favorable circumstances, than if the author had been invisible."

April 11. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "I suppose this will find you in your new department, and I

[1] John Quincy Adams.

hope, pleased with your situation, with new duties to perform, both as they respect yourself and others. There are some duties, which ought to be the result of fixed principles, and others, which are local, and may depend on circumstances. Fidelity and prudence, industry and discretion, with obliging manners, are some of the essentials in life, and seldom fail of gaining the confidence, love and esteem of our fellow-travelers, who, with us, are embarked as upon a rough and dangerous sea. I anticipated all your feelings the day on which you said that you were to leave Quincy, and your dear uncle and aunt's protection, which has long been spread over you. The time you are stepping into life, calls for circumspection. It is an era in our nation's affairs, portentous of important events."

April 27. From T. B. Adams. "As a general memento, the best time to study law is while you are in the office of another person. After you have one of your own, your attention and time will be chiefly occupied in attendance on courts. It was not until I had considerable experience, that I could look upon a client in any other light than an intruder into my office, and nothing but his fee could persuade me to the contrary. Jo. Dennie says, that he used to lock his office door to keep clients out. This is no violence to the truth in his case, as I can readily conceive."

April 30. From T. B. Johnson in Washington. "This place, after the rising of Congress, and the festivity observed in honor of Mr. Jefferson had subsided, sunk into a calm. In this condition it has

remained undisturbed by any of the violent proceedings, which were expected to agitate the country, and, in the end, bring on a premature dissolution of the government. Whether this state of things will remain any length of time, is somewhat problematical. Certain it is, that less precipitancy and much more caution have been observed than Mr. Jefferson's opponents were inclined to think could, consistently with the character of his principles and the publicity of his declarations, be supported by him in a line of conduct, marked out for his guidance. Whatever may have been the motives which have led to it, the propriety of the step cannot be disputed. Respite from the expected evil is to be acknowledged with gratitude."

May 10. From T. B. Adams. "The trial of persons, indicted for an assault on William Duane, was lately decided in the Mayor's court. Some were fined $120, with costs of prosecution, and others less. You may remember the provocation, which was the cause of this chastisement, inflicted by the members of several volunteer troops, who had served against the Northampton insurgents. It was the refusal of Duane to give up the author of certain paragraphs, which had been printed in the Aurora, charging those troops with improper conduct during their expedition.

"Our Governor went, last Sabbath, to one of the Quaker meetings in this place. No particular attention was paid to him, except making room for him and suite to sit down. The Spirit moved an elderly sister to unburden herself of a few thoughts. She

made the attempt, though without attracting much notice or attention from the Governor, until she happened rather awkwardly and mal-apropos to say, 'We will not have this man to reign over us.' At this time he roused and became suddenly a patient listener to the sequel, which, contrary to his apprehension, did not enlarge on that text. The application, however, did not escape many of the congregation, though far from being intended by the speaker."

June 22. "It falls to my lot to do things so repugnant to my feelings, that I know not what apology to offer for complying, in opposition to them, with the absurd custom of the times, which often imposes a necessity of thus betraying my judgment. What answer can be given to a man who, after living for a few months under the same roof with you, though in no particular habits of intimacy, shall accost you thus: Mr. Adams, have you any commands for Boston? Are you going thither? Yes. I know not that I have any particular commands. Will you give me some letters to your friends? I will. This is the substance of a dialogue, which passed between Mr. T. C. and myself last evening. You know what a kind of reputation he had in this place at one time; but, in justice to him, I must say, that I think a great deal of artificial, malignant censure was cast upon him. This is the third instance wherein I have introduced people to my friends by solicitation. I have this morning a letter from my brother.[1] More than

[1] J. Q. Adams.

half of the three last numbers of the Portfolio, are compiled from his communications. You may know his mark by one of the letters which make the word, Columbus, being at the bottom of each poetical effusion."

Sept. 2. From Mr. Shaw's mother to him. "It has been my lot, my dear son, to have a great deal of sickness in my family, from early life. You, as well as your sisters, have suffered greatly, and severely felt the yoke in your youth. As God has blessed you, of late, with a comfortable measure of health, I hope that you will not be unmindful of the favor, but improve your spared life to his honor by preserving a "conscience void of offence," and employing your time and talents to the most useful purposes. I daily supplicate the Most High, that he would spare to my declining years, my yet two remaining props; for I feel, if they were taken away, I must soon fall. Your friend Buckminster kept Sabbath with us here a fortnight since. We were much gratified with his visit. His countenance is a fine expression of his intelligence and worth. Happy the parents of three such promising children; for his two sisters do not suffer in comparison with him. Lucy Maria has all the 'je ne sai quoi,' united with excellent talents; and Eliza has more than a common share of excellences. Your cousin, Lemuel Shaw,[1] is studying law in Boston. He is a superior young man. I wish you would cultivate an acquaintance with him."

Sept. 20. From T. B. Adams in Philadelphia.

[1] The present Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

"Since my return, I have been more occupied with my profession, than I had been for a long time before. My ambition does not aspire to anything out of the pale of bar-promotion; but it is, by no means, an easy task to attain eminence in this sphere. The number of competitors, added to the difficult and laborious duties in the exercise of our profession, make it a perfect lottery as to success and profit. Every opportunity I get, of holding forth at the bar, invigorates zeal; but I have not yet vanquished the terrors and palpitations incident to inexperienced speakers."

Dec. 20. William Cranch in Washington to Mr. Shaw in Boston. "I see B. Russell has begun to publish the pieces, which appeared in the Federalist[1] under the signature of 'a friend of the Constitution.' They are written by one of our first law characters. He may, also, if he chooses, re-print the pieces which are now coming out in the same paper, under the signature of 'Lucius Junius Brutus,' as a supplement to the other. They are not from the same pen, but it is necessary that the people should see the grounds on which rests the independence of the judiciary, and the necessity of supporting that department in the contest which is now about to be commenced. You will have learned by the papers, that, at the last Supreme Court, a rule was laid on the Secretary of State to show cause why a mandamus should not issue, commanding him to deliver the commissions of justice of peace to Wm. Marbury, Dennis Ramsay Wm. Harper and Robert T. Iloe, which were signed

[1]A paper published in Washington.

and sealed under the former administration. I find there is a determination to repeal the last judiciary act, and to withhold the appropriation for salaries for the judges."

1802, March 18. From John Newman in Philadelphia. "Since I left Washington, which was on the 2d January, I have entered upon the law under Mr. Rawle. The sun of federalism will soon rise again. The people are beginning to suspect those, who have so long deceived them. In this State McKean, Dallas and Leib have already lost much of their influence. Discord is in their camp. The selfish principle which connected them in opposition, loses its power in their scrambling for supremacy among themselves. I hope the leaven of jacobinism in the Eastern States will not contaminate the whole mass. In the event of a dissolution of the Union, you will have a great accession of population, if the revolutionary mania should not too deeply infect you. It is said that the French General, who is to command the Floridas, is already appointed. If this long apprehended cession should take place, we need not long expect 'peace and safety,' or even safety in peace."

Among the documents preserved by Mr. Shaw, and indicative of his strong love for literature and science and his deep interest in the promotion of them, which he ever manifested, is a subscription paper dated March 25, 1802, for $20,000, as the foundation for a Professorship of Natural History at Harvard College. It contains the names of the

donors, and their individual contributions to so worthy an object.

May 4. From T. B. Adams. "I have lately returned from attending the Quarter Sessions in Delaware county. I took part in a criminal cause for perjury. Mr. Joseph Hemphill, a member of Congress in our delegation, whose argument on the judiciary bill this session obtained so much applause, has hitherto resided in the county of Delaware, and frequented the courts in this vicinity. He is a plain young man, both in dress and manners. Though he is usually considered as of the Society of the Friends, he is in reality of the Church of England. I saw and conversed with him often, and am much gratified by his acquaintance. He purposes coming very shortly to establish himself in the city. Sam. Ewing, who is now leaning on my window, sends his best regards to you. Did you notice, some time ago, a satire on some toasts, which were drank at a feast given by R. Peale, in the Skeleton of the Mammoth? Ewing wrote it at my instance, and it had a good effect."

June 13. From the same in Philadelphia. "I received your short note, accompanying the oration delivered by my brother[1] before the Charitable Fire Association, and thank you for your promptness in forwarding it to me. I am yet to hear from you in reply to some of my inquiries. You have certainly lost that kakoethes scribendi, which was wont to beset you so easily. I remember to have predicted your recovery from the disorder at no

[1] J. Q. Adams.

very remote period. The newspapers will have informed you that a work entitled, The History of the Administration of John Adams, and an account of the suppression of the same by Colonel Burr, are now selling in New York and in this city. The author was so well aware of the nothingness of his compilation, merely from democratic journals, that he became the willing instrument of Colonel Burr, who hired him to suppress it; but falling out with his employer, he then had it printed. There are hundreds of libellous expressions and passages throughout; but what is a little singular is, that Colonel Hamilton and General Pinckney are both extolled in character and person. Their biography is taken from federal prints, and interlarded, here and there, with an abusive and scandalous anecdote. The utmost malignity and scurrillity of the writer is directed at John Adams; but there is no word of it, that will be credited by a single candid person. The newspaper of last night says, that the noted John Wood, author, etc. has absconded. We have just entered upon summer weather here. Apprehensions of the yellow fever are stronger here this year than ever, on account of the troops in the West Indies. Yesterday, I delivered Mr. William Lee two of young Charles Jared Ingersoll's tragedy, one for you and one for my mother. It gives me pleasure to hear that you are so eligibly situated in Boston. Dennie lives out near the bettering-house, which you know is close by the hospital, at his printer's residence, and we seldom see him."

June 28. "I will send you 'the history' by the first opportunity, perhaps by water. Colonel Burr never contracted to pay $1,000 for its suppression. He may have offered to give something, which never was paid. But the rivalship of Clinton must have come out at all events. The narrative was only a sort of warming-pan to the history. I am pleased to hear that J. Q. A. was the cause of the failure of the Statue to Washington, by substituting marble for bronze. I do not believe he intended to defeat the plan by his suggestion, but I am the better pleased on that account. I am entirely dissatisfied with the mode of such attempts to honor the memory of Washington."

Aug. 8. Richard Peters, Jr., in Philadelphia, to Shaw in Boston. "Your progress in the law, I hope, is rapid. By this time you have passed the most rugged parts of the course. Our friend[1] has no doubt informed you of our political discomfiture. Gloomy as the picture of Pennsylvania now is, I fear its shades will become still darker. I observe the dismissal of Mr. Otis.[2] His political opponents were too sharp for their own power, to suffer his continuance.

"You must observe, with regret, the change in Dennie. I have long defended him, but I can do it no more. His last Portfolio praises Hamilton at the expense of the great Washington."

August. From John Adams, late President, on "Remarks in the National Intelligencer of Aug. 4, 1802." "It has been often said, and as often denied, that there are men in this country attached to

[1] T. B. Adams. [2] Samuel A. Otis.

democracy, simple democracy—to a government in every State, of a single assembly of Representatives, without a Senate and without a Governor; to a government of the nation in a Congress of Delegates in one House, without a Senate and without a President. The charge is supported by the declarations of numbers from Shays's rebellion and the votes of county conventions, down to the letter to Mazzei, to the efforts in the House of Representatives to set aside the treaty with England, and many other actions and declarations of individuals to this day. Whether the writer of the remarks is capable of comprehending it or not, there is a distinction between an attachment to monarchy, and an opinion that it will, in some nations and at certain periods, prevail; and that no human wisdom or virtue in existence can prevent it. Cato was never suspected of any attachment to monarchy. His death was a full proof of two points. 1. That he detested and dreaded monarchy more than death. 2. That he was fully convinced, that monarchy in the person of Cæsar, could not be prevented in Rome. Men's opinions are not always conformable to their wishes. Some have understandings as well as affections.

"Abstract opinions in favor of monarchy or democracy may exist without injury to the state. Plato and Aristotle declare freely in their writings a veneration for kingly government. Yet, in the most democratical governments of Greece, they were not persecuted. An end will be put to all liberty of thought as well as speech, if Duane, Callender, Lyon, Cooper, Cheetham, Wood, in short, all

the dogs of the mob are to be let loose upon every man who dares to speculate upon principles or systems of government. The change of the last administration was in a very small degree affected by any sentiment that there were men in the government whose views were subversive of republicanism; because the very men, who endeavored to propagate such a sentiment, did not believe themselves, and were not credited by others. Many of these men were known to be more inclined to monarchical opinions, than those whom they accused. Many of these men were known to have often declared their opinions, that the Constitution of the United States was defective, because it had not an hereditary President and an hereditary Senate. Others had been known to declare that no form of government was worth any thing, but that of king, lords and commons. Some had even said that we ought to have a monarchy in this country in the person of one of the princes of England. This kind of speeches and opinions has been oftener uttered by those who are called republicans, and are now possessed of power in the States, than by federalists. The change of administration in this country was effected by the federalists themselves; not by any change in favor of republicanism in the people, nor by any opinion that the new President was more of a republican than the former one. But this is a subject that may be developed hereafter.

"Are our court gazettes then prepared to say that 'liberty has vanished from France'; that the first consul is an usurper; that 'the French nation have

submitted every political right to the mercy of the sword'; that 'the republic is subverted and monarchy has returned'? This language is as remote from any tendency to preserve the friendship between this country and France, as it is from the truth. The government of France is at least as republican now, as it ever has been since the death of the king, or since the subversion of the monarchy, or indeed since the meeting of the Assembly of Notables in 1786. It answers the ends of government in preserving personal liberty, private property, and the peace, order, tranquillity and happiness of society, better than any republican constitution that nation ever has enjoyed, and as well as any it will probably ever have. This mighty transformation has been effected without violence or contention, by the voice of the people, by the general sense, and the public opinion. The people of France are weary of blood, disgusted with murder, and indignant at rapine. They have seen and felt, and are at length convinced with an unanimity that is very remarkable, that democracy, without control, would depopulate and desolate France. They have stopped in their career of enthusiasm and delirium, and are restored in some measure to their right minds.

"What connection there is between the returning reason of the French people and the publication of these letters, it is not easy to imagine. These letters are calculated, in every sentence and every word of them, to preserve the Constitution of the United States from deviating into monarchy on one hand, and democracy on the other. If the balance

of our government was destroyed and the weight all placed in the democratical scale, nothing is more certain than that all the confusions and horrors of France, for fifteen or sixteen years past, must be our lot, and nothing could relieve us from them but a civil war, or a victorious army; unless the people should suddenly recover their reason and restore the equilibrium of the government. These letters were written twelve years ago, from an apprehension that the contagion of a French delirium might seize the passions of the American people, and excite them to destroy their present constitution, annihilate the President's office, the Senate of the United States, the Governors and Senates of the individual States, and the independent judiciaries in all of them.

"The publication of these letters is another affair. They had been long forgotten, and would probably have never been again read or seen by the writer, had he not been informed, that last winter certain persons in Boston were handing them about, showing sentences or half sentences, and misrepresenting them, not only in democratical clubs, but to lawyers and judges during their terms. This information alone occasioned some old letter books to be searched, and these copies to be published. They contain no sentiments which the writer ever concealed. He held them in 1776, when his letter to Mr. Wythe was published. He held them openly and publicly in 1779, when in the Convention which formed the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts. They run through the three volumes of his Defence of the Constitution of the United

States, and have been frankly professed and avowed, in public and private, on all occasions for six and twenty years. A greater falsehood cannot be committed to writing, than is contained in these words: 'Hitherto they have courted the obscurity of a rigid concealment.'"

Sept. 13. From T. B. Adams in Philadelphia. "Accept my hearty thanks for the favorable account your letter contains, of my mother's convalescence. It is indeed grateful intelligence, and serves to console me under the painful prospect of being forced to flee from this infected city. You will see that the board of health, or rather board of pestilence, have at last come out, after being threatened by Duane, that he would report, if they did not. They confirm all our fears respecting the prevalence of the (yellow) fever here."

Some items from Mr. Shaw's diary.

Oct. 3. "In the evening at Mr. Emerson's.[1] Conversed on books and politics. Mr. E. is very sanguine that there will be a great alteration favorable to federalism in the next Congress. I wish it may be so, but I doubt it strongly."

Oct. 4. "Dined with Dwight, Walter, Wells, Sumner and Chapman. After dinner, we held an animated discussion about the division, which took place among the federalists. Dwight is a young man, who has just completed his professional studies as a lawyer, with Mr. Ames of Dedham. He is talented, and endowed with many attractive qualities."

Oct. 6. "Mr. Quincy has gone to pass a few weeks on his farm, during the continuance of the yellow

[1] Rev. Wm. Emerson, of First Church in Boston.

fever in town. It has prevailed considerably where he resides. Walter sets out to-morrow on a tour to the southward, preparatory to a voyage for Europe. He has letters which will introduce him to gentlemen of respectability, and thus render his journey pleasant and improving. Ever since our sophomore year in college, we have been connected by the strongest ties of friendship. Excepting Wells, I could part with every young man in town, and feel less solitary, than I shall now by the absence of Walter."

Oct. 8. "Spent the forenoon principally with Channing, who came from Cambridge to see me. We called on Salisbury, who has lately returned from a visit to Europe."

Oct. 17. "Miss Gray told me, that she had been in company with Gideon Granger, Post Master General, who has been on a visit to Boston; who expresses an opinion, that the New England States will never become republicanized till they have a college instituted with republican instructors; and who complains bitterly, that our papers abuse Jefferson and the present administration."

Nov. 1. "This day the Representatives for Congress are to be chosen throughout the State. Dr. Eustis and Mr. J. Q. Adams are the candidates. I went to the meeting about 10 o'clock, and continued there all the morning. There was a great crowd at the Hall, and much confusion. It was almost impossible to put in a vote. The poll closed at two. It was found that there were 1,496 for Mr. Adams, and 1,430 for Dr. Eustis. This small

majority in Boston, is indicative that the Doctor's election is secured. In the evening, much depressed at the result of to-day's voting."

Oct. 13. Walter in Philadelphia to Shaw in Boston. "Here I am at last, in the real capital of our country. It is always difficult for a stranger to express his sensations of any place, because first impressions are not always to be trusted. The charms of novelty must finally give place to sober knowledge of experience, and the dictates of calm investigation must be resigned to a cool judgment, arising from extensive surveys of comparative excellence."

Oct. 30. "I wrote you one or two days ago from Baltimore, which is a fine city. Its commercial confidence and credit have been very much injured by numerous bankruptcies. Mr. Harper[1] had gone to Annapolis, so that I had not the pleasure of seeing that highly federal character. I traveled with Captain Preble. He is an agreeable man. Tom Paine has arrived. I believe he came in a vessel to Baltimore."

Dec. 22. From Walter in Liverpool. "I have the pleasure of informing you of my safe arrival here after a passage of twenty-six days. Liverpool is a place for the slave-trade. It is dirty, smoky and disagreeable. At 9 o'clock this morning I was writing by candle light. Yesterday I was at the Athenæum, a handsome room for the reading of newspapers and magazines, with a good library. The genteel part of the inhabitants frequent the

[1] Robert Goodloe Harper.

library and read, for books are not allowed to be taken away. If I stay in town a few days, I shall see Roscoe. I have a letter to a very intimate friend of his. He is a plain, grave looking man, silent in company, and rich. He does not now practice law, though that is his regular profession. Chapman desires to be affectionately remembered. He is a worthy friend."

CHAPTER VIII.

Samuel Adams against Paine's "Age of Reason"—Navigation of the Mississippi—Marshall's Washington—American Literature—Austin's Letters—Invasion of England—History of Foreign Affairs—Proposal of Bonaparte to Louis XVI., that he abdicate—Gillie's Remark on President Adams—Irish Rebellion—Abbe de Lille—Southey—Coleridge—French Preparations—Invitation.

1803, Feb. 4. Shaw in Boston to Walter in London. "Our friend Channing is now at Newport, where he has resided for the last six weeks. Immediately after your departure he preached three Sabbaths in Brattle street church, to crowded audiences and to the delight of every one. Both churches have invited him to settle with them, and each were zealous that he should accept their invitation. He has negatived the call of Brattle street. He will probably comply with the desire of Federal street. This parish have offered twenty-five dollars a Sabbath, his house and wood, which is equal to the salary of any clergyman in town, and superior to that of most. He has, I think, judged wisely in not undertaking the entire charge of so large a congregation as Brattle street. Such a situation would be too great a tax on his physical powers; would allow him little opportunity for the studies essential for excellence in his profession. Profound learning adds

dignity and lustre to every character and calling with which it is connected. I have often thought, that a pastor has more stimulating motives to acquire knowledge than any other. He has little commerce with the world except to instruct and edify. His Sabbath labors give him an opportunity to bring all his intellectual acquirements into frequent application and immediate usefulness. Thus he is enabled not merely to please his hearers, but to enlighten them in their most important interests; to enforce on their minds and hearts the truths of the sacred oracles, and the necessity of devotedness to the Supreme, as the great end of their being.

"Tom Paine, soon after his arrival, excited much displeasure against himself, by the publication of his letters. His party soon discovered that he was doing them great injury, and induced him to lay aside his pen. The Aurora left out all which he said in his third letter about religion. We had not heard of him for some time till last night's mail brought us S. Smith's paper with a letter from Samuel Adams and Paine's answer. Mr. Adams allows Paine merit for his service in our Revolution, but severely reprimands him for writing his "Age of Reason." I send you, with the papers and pamphlets, three of Mr. Adams's orations. Please to hand one to Dana with my best wishes."

Feb. 20. "As to the secrecy of Congress, we generally suppose that the breach of the treaty by Spain, in the *occlusion* of the port of New Orleans, has been the subject before them. The resolution of Mr. Griswold and four others, respecting the

navigation of the Mississippi, obstructed by the late regulations at New Orleans, was suspended by the motion of Randolph. The violation of the treaty is peculiarly oppressive to the inhabitants of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi territory. Kentucky has already sent a memorial to Congress. So essential is the injury done to this people, that unless the obstruction is immediately removed, it has been suggested, that nothing can prevent them from recourse to arms. Their commercial and agricultural prosperity entirely depends on the free navigation of the Mississippi. It is the only channel of communication which the immense and fertile country of the West has with the sea. It absolutely needs New Orleans, as the depot for the surplus of its productions."

Feb. 27. "We have just received from Washington a letter from the Spanish minister to the Secretary of State, in which he gives the information, 'that his king has provided, that the deposit should continue at New Orleans, until the two governments shall come to an agreement about another equivalent place.' "

March 2. "Channing has given up his regency at Cambridge, and resides altogether in Boston. At present, he is in the family of young Stephen Higginson. His health is much better than when you saw him last. He will probably be settled in Federal street in about a month. I pray God that his health may be perfectly restored to him. I am confident that nothing but the want of such a blessing will prevent him from being supereminently

useful in his profession. To this, his attachment increases as he advances in its duties; of which, some would say, his ideas were even enthusiastic. We both know the wisdom of his head and the goodness of his heart."

March 4. From C. P. Wayne in Philadelphia. "By this day's mail I was favored with your letter of the 25th ult., containing the names of seventy-two of the most respectable gentlemen of Boston and vicinity. I tender you my thanks for your polite and disinterested assistance, in conjunction with Colonel May.[1] The work[2] has been attended with great expense. I expected that the printing of it would have been begun on Tuesday last, but, from a variety of circumstances, it will be delayed a little while. It will go on with as much expedition as the nature of it will allow after it is commenced; but it depends on the number to be printed, whether a volume will appear once a month, or in two or three months; and until the returns of subscribers are made from all quarters, nothing explicit can be said on this point. Besides the four or five volumes octavo, there will be an Atlas of from twenty to thirty engravings, a plan of the different engagements in the Revolution; but no charge will be made for these, independent of the price for the volumes. A handsome portrait of the General, from Stewart's by Edwin, will be in the first volume. The work will commence with a concise account of the colonization of the country and its history up to the birth of the General, continued with his birth, early life

[1] Joseph May. [2] Life of Washington by Marshall.

and gallant behavior in the old Indian war, with the events of this contest; the measures which led to the Revolution and an ample relation of the war which succeeded, with an authentic biography of the General to the period of his demise. Judge Washington informed me, that this work would be composed from eleven trunks of public and three of private papers, left by the General. Any further assistance you may be pleased to bestow, will add to the favor already conferred."

April 1. From Walter in London to William E. Channing in Boston. "Do you think I love not your moral preaching? To me it is very pleasant, because it confirms my notions of right, and always sets me in the path of true happiness. I know of no reading more delightful than the inspirations of holy men, who seem to have caught the doctrines of eternal truth from reflecting on the perfections of the High and Holy One. I have lately been reading Smith's Moral Sentiments, in admiration of which I perfectly concur with my excellent friend, Wells. Truth is the object of my most serious researches. The Deity is surrounded with it, as with an holy, undefiled essence; and whenever I can meet with it, I make it my study and my contemplation.

"I am glad that you and Shaw are making excursions into literature. I would I were with you, to participate the labor and the pleasure. I want my country to do something in this cause. It is high time that the young Hercules, who has strangled the serpents, should go forth in the plenitude of

muscular force, and perform the mighty labors assigned to him. American literature ought to bud, it ought to promise future fruits of Hesperian luxuriance."

April 20. From Shaw to Walter. "Gilbert and Dean publish in this town, every Saturday evening, a literary, religious paper. They have had considerable encouragement. Mrs. Murray and Mrs. Rawson are the principal writers. Our classmate, Story, has become more engaged in politics, than even before you left for Europe. We have a new bank. It is called the Boston Bank. They have taken the building in which Messrs. Lowell and Otis had their offices, and where the Union Bank was formerly kept. The elections seem to favor the position, that federalism is gaining ground. Neither history nor our own experience justify us in the belief, that the people give their votes on principles, drawn from reason and reflection, to any system of policy. Nothing is more fallacious than the whole business of politics."

May 4. From various papers in Mr. Shaw's hands it appears, that prior to this date and afterwards, extensive exertions were made through the United States, to obtain subscriptions of one dollar a person for the erection of a monument to Washington. The movement of Congress, on the same subject, had been ineffectual. A considerable sum, on the popular plan, was laid out for bank-stock in the name of Bushrod Washington and associates, as trustees for the concern. Much spirit, in which Mr. Shaw partook largely, was exhibited in Boston

to advance the enterprise. The general agent was Samuel Blodget.

June 11. Shaw to Walter in London. "I was delighted to see in your letter the honest expression of attachment to your country. This, as you will find, absence will increase. Whatever celebrity our countrymen may have acquired for the rougher virtues, I agree with you, that she is deficient in literature and science. So she will continue till these pursuits are more liberally encouraged. I believe that this is not owing to any physical defect in Americans. We have many men among us, who would not suffer, if compared in point of genius, with the most renowned men of Greece and Rome, of France and England. Erudition must first become the object of ambition with our countrymen before they will attain to eminence. It was near six hundred years after the foundation of Rome, before she produced any celebrated poets. Then such authors were in low repute. Cato censured the Consul, Marcus Nobilior, for taking with him the poet Ennius, into his province of Etolia. Still there must have been geniuses, at that very period, in Rome, equal to those of the noted poets in Greece.

"I send you a poem, called "Boston," by Winthrop Sargent, who was author of several effusions under the signature of Amyntas, which appeared in our papers. Our friend Channing was ordained over the Federal street church, the first of June. Dr. Tappan preached an excellent sermon on the

occasion. Our classmate, Tuckerman, gave the right hand of fellowship very acceptably."

June 15. From Walter. "Allston the other day dined with young Peters at Mr. Trumbull's. I supposed, on hearing the name, that it was the person of whom you had often spoken to me in Boston. Allston and myself intend calling on him next week. He does not stay here long, but goes to Paris in two or three weeks. Austin goes on with his letters. They will not, however, be published before next November, as he told me. I read one of the letters the other evening. Dana and Allston liked it. You will wait to form an opinion for yourself."

June 23. Letter from the mother of Shaw. Speaking of a lawyer at Haverhill, she says, that "he regretted not having accustomed himself to public speaking at his first entrance into his business. By the errors and excellences of others, the young should learn wisdom. It must be a happy circumstance to have your beloved friend for your pastor. I hope his precepts will have a deep impression on your heart. It is lovely, my son, to be good from education and habit, but there is something still more excellent, and that is, to be good from a conviction of duty to God and ourselves. Favorable gales have hitherto attended your course. To Heaven I will still look, that you may be guided to duty and usefulness."

July 11. From Walter in London. "Political affairs are in *statu quo.* Bonaparte is making the tour of his dominions, surveying the fortresses and

forming his encampments. There is no doubt entertained here, that he will attempt an invasion; but the making of gun-boats and frigates is very slow in France, though the subscriptions are numerous. However, their actual force is formidable. In this city hand-bills are stuck up in various public places, calling on the people to be prepared, determined and brave. One piece is signed Publicola, and is well written, reciting a variety of reasons why the English should be patriotic and brave, and calling to their minds the deeds of the Henries and Edwards. Whenever the subject of invasion is discussed in the House of Commons, the gallery doors are always closed, in order to prevent any information from being conveyed to the enemy. Various gentlemen in the House, particularly Mr. Wyndham and Col. Crawford, think and declare an invasion is practicable, and that the danger is great. These honorable Senators have awakened the public mind to a high sense of the serious situation of the country, and the ministry have taken all possible precautions to guard against any attempt. The Secretary of War is preparing a bill, by which every Englishman will be obliged to perform certain military duties in his town or county, so that the nation will be completely a vast army, independently of more than 300,000 men, who are either regulars, or to be a perfectly organized militia. Such are the affairs of this kingdom, the great bulwark against the gigantic, unmeasured ambition of France. I wish them every honor and every success in the trying time of the present, and in the emergency of the

future struggle. Austin dined with Erving and others on the Fourth of July. I believe it was a democratic party."

July. Shaw to Walter. "I coincide with you you, that the history of our Revolution has not been properly executed. The authors are partial. They have their favorites, and have made them the heroes of their story, to the disparagement of truth. The Revolution, so described, is no more that, achieved by our statesmen and heroes, than the mangled phantom, which Æneas met in his descent to Avernus, resembled the faultless figure of Deiphobus.

"I feel, equally with yourself, the obligation imposed upon us to make all possible exertions to promote the benevolent design of our creation, by rendering ourselves useful to our fellow men. I confess that this is the only certain proof we can give of our gratitude to God for the mercies and talents with which he has been pleased to intrust us.

"In writing history, I think no better directions can be adopted, than that which Cicero prescribes—'Primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat.' There is one branch of our Revolution, equally useful with any other, the history of which, I believe, no one has ever attempted. I mean the management of our foreign affairs during that period. This would be an ample field, respecting which the most of our countrymen know but very little. They scarcely know the deeds of those who went abroad, hazarded their liberty and lives, and performed laborious services, as much conducive to the success of our arms, as those of warriors at home.

While the latter have been eulogized by our historians, the former have not had their exertions fairly represented. Circumstances make the difference, but withhold the justice.

"You remark, 'Literature is dear, and common nature is cheap.' A knowledge of the former, however, is more easily obtained, than that of the latter. We meet with thousands profound in literature, who have imperfect views of human nature. This important study will no doubt form one grand object of your pursuit while in Europe. Shakespeare was an adept in this science. His investigations cannot be read without being realized. They are clothed with circumstances and embodied by fact and experience.

"In whatever country of Europe you travel, you will probably find the state of society much lower than in our country. A mind, benevolent like yours, will naturally search for the cause of such difference. Please to examine this subject, and send me the result."

July 26. From Walter. "Among the singular political events of the present day, has been the proposal to the royal family of France to abdicate, by a written instrument, their hereditary right as the relations of Louis XVI. The proposal was Bonaparte's. But Louis XVIII., though promised the most splendid establishment, and I believe the crown of Poland, indignantly refused the proposal in a written answer, and the rest of the family to the number of eight or ten. This proves that Bonaparte feels that he has no right to his present station,

and that he wishes to prop a frail system by the abdicated right of the real owner of the crown. Last night I was in the House of Commons. £60,000 were granted to the Prince of Orange, and an annuity of £16,000 in consequence of the services of that illustrious house at the Revolution of 1688, their uniform friendship to Great Britain, and their present establishment, which is not equal to the support of their dignity, and in consequence of benefits which accrued to Great Britain from their name and situation during the late war. The American Commissioners have received upwards of £230,000 for losses by British capture. This is the first installment. They will receive another like sum in one year, and another in two years. This is a good answer to the revilers of the British treaty, who have contended that the Americans would never recover any of their property. I dined with Dr. Gillies at Sir William Pepperell's, the other day. I had much conversation with him of a political and literary nature, which I shall one day detail to you. He characterized Mr. Adams, the late President, by saying 'he knew him in England, and he was a clever, sensible man.'"

July 30. "We have dreadful accounts of a rebellion in Ireland. A week ago the rioters poured into Dublin to the number of 4,000. They assembled in the principal streets, and demanded a watchword from every person. They tore the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kilwarden, and his nephews from his coach, as he was returning from the country, and stabbed and murdered them with pikes. They fought

desperately with the King's troops, had a number killed and about 200 wounded. The royal troops lost 50 or 60. Thirty thousand pikes have been discovered, and 10,000 suits of armor. Lord Cornwallis goes to Ireland invested with full power. The habeas corpus has been suspended, and martial law proclaimed in that country. Sheridan has completely turned his back on the old opposition, and is now a supporter of the ministry. He declared his determination publicly, the other evening, to give his assistance to gentlemen who were continually assailed by Mr. Windham and others without the least cause. He is tired of opposition, and wants a place."

Aug. 18. "You know the Abbe de Lille. The English booksellers have just published a fine poem by him, called Le Macheur et la Pitie, illustrated with literary and political anecdotes of the French Revolution. When it was first published in France the government ordered a great number of offensive passages to be struck out. This was complied with. But the work is published here in French, complete as written by the author. The glowing and tender author of L'homme des Champs could not write otherwise than with delicacy and feeling. The subject leads him to delineate some of the miseries and horrors of the French Revolution, and his views of the private distress are heart-rending and full of most exquisite feeling. Southey has translated the old romance of Amadis de Gaul. He has given it a good prose version and annexed a preface. I wish that he had employed his poetical

talents on something worthy of his genius, and not have wasted his time on an old romance. He is a gentleman of a melancholy turn of mind, delighting but little in the gayeties of life. His situation as a secretary to the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, gives him a good salary and enables him to live independent of the world. Southey's friend Coleridge is quite different in his disposition. He is lively, full of fun, noise and merriment. He likes literature and pleasant conversation, and is full of anecdote and stories. Nothing to him is more pleasant than an hour's talk with a friend. He lives in the county of Cumberland, far from London, and delights in his books. The proprietors of a daily newspaper wished to make him editor, and offered him a very handsome establishment, but he declined. He has distinguished himself by a good answer to Godwin's Political Justice, notwithstanding he is a democrat in his general principles. I have heard that his answer is one of the best which that work has received. Monroe has been introduced at Court as Ambassador from the United States. Peter Porcupine says he shall keep an eye on him, and watch his motions."

Aug. 21. "On the Foutrh of July, Ambassador Livingston gave a dinner. After it a toast was given, 'Democratic arithmetic, addition and multiplication, without division.' He lives in Paris in great style. We hear that he goes home in the spring. Perhaps he has a notion of being Vice President, which would give umbrage to the Clintonians. Cobbett has had a fighting with one Heriot, editor of the

True Briton, because H. had said that C. deserved the gibbet or the gallows for some political publication. I know not which gained the victory. But Heriot says that one Dickens assisted Cobbett in the affair. The political plot thickens. Russia joins England, and the French forces are to be active."

Aug. 23. "The situation of Europe grows daily more interesting, and you need not be surprised if a general Continental war should recommence. Russia becomes more open in her determinations, and the English now expect direct and immediate co-operation from that quarter. There is little doubt, that a Russian fleet will join the English, and from Russian influence the other Northern Powers may act against France. The French are agitating an expedition, and the Prince of Conde will be the head and the celebrated Dumanier is to have a principal command.

"Bonaparte goes on with his preparations in France and Holland. The latter has ordered to be built immediately 100 gun-boats and 250 flat-bottom boats for the invasion of England. The French invading army consists of 200,000 men. The English, in two months, will be fully adequate to repel such a tremendous force. The time of attack is said to be fixed in the latter end of October or beginning of November, when the weather is cloudy, rainy and tempestuous, and the nights are dark and long. But the opinion of most people is that the invasion will not be attempted. Some wish that it might take place in order to try the experiment, and have the protracted menace forever

decided. Amidst all the bustle of politics and war, your friend enjoys his usual health, loves his books and thinks of his friends. He sometimes anticipates the pleasure of meeting you on the Long wharf, as he steps from ship-board, and of future mutual exertions of head and heart, in which he expects beneficial results and pleasant sensations."

In this letter Walter says, "I hear that the practice of smoking segars is becoming unfashionable." This fashion of smoking was excessive, according to the letters of literary correspondents of that period. It seemed to have been erroneously and injuriously considered a mark of gentility, and a desirable stimulant to genius in conversation and composition of poetry and prose.

Sept. 19. J. S. Buckminster's poetical invitation to Shaw in Boston to visit Waltham at the Lyman country seat, where he was. An extract follows:

> "Come, and with loitering steps the walk we'll rove
> And chat discursive on the themes we love;
> Recall with memory sweet, those scenes of yore,
> Which oft in Harvard's walls we've acted o'er,
> Where first we learnt in friendship to unite,
> And link'd the chain, unbroken yet and bright,
> Where judgment ripened, where attachment grew,
> And where we learnt to love whom best we knew.
> Here art with wealth conspires the grounds to grace
> And traces lovlier lines on nature's face.
> Enter and gaze where *living* graces lurk
> And *waste* an hour with nature's fairer work."

Oct. 17. From Walter in London. "I am daily expecting Wells to make up for the loss of Allston, who sails this week to Rotterdam. We have nothing new in the political world, except the accounts of the French preparations and determinations to invade the country, and of the contrary efforts on

the part of the English. The latter really expect the attempt will be made, and seem to have no doubt that it will be defeated. I think, from a careful examination of what I have heard and seen on each side, that the French will be entirely destroyed or made prisoners. They have to elude or to fight the English navy, which is very numerous on their coasts; then the English gun-boats and vessels, which are stationed on this coast, and are a very respectable force; then the English forts and batteries on this shore; and then an English army of 100,000 men, who can be assembled in a day or two from the time of the news being heard that the French have sailed."

Nov. 11. From J. Wagner in Washington to Shaw in Boston. This communication was accompanied with two certificates from James Madison, Secretary of State, that Benjamin Wells, sailed for England, and Arthur Maynard Walter in London, were citizens of the United States. Such precaution was requisite to prevent their being captured by the belligerents of Europe. The letter says: "I have just received your favor of the 2d, and enclose the certificates you request. I shall with pleasure furnish you with the pamphlets. I shall add to them a pamphlet containing a topographical account of Louisiana, compiled by me from official and other correct documents. I expect the printing of it will be completed by Monday next. It is an official performance, and will be laid before Congress as soon as it is printed. You surprise me by the bulk of your collection. I shall be happy to

contribute to increase it by any additions you may direct or my taste may suggest as worthy of your attention." This shows the advancement which Mr. Shaw had made in his collection of pamphlets and books, which subsequently formed a valuable part of the Boston Athenæum.

CHAPTER IX.

Liverpool Athenæum—Royal Standard—Congressional Propriety—Louisiana—Admission to the Bar—Use of Tobacco—Hamilton's Death—Fugitive Slave—Political Operation—An Account of Hannah Adams, by herself—Anthology Society—Dr. Waterhouse's Botanical Lectures—Tunisian Embassy—Gun Boats.

1803, November 15. Benjamin Wells in Liverpool to Shaw in Boston. "After a passage of thirty-two days, I am in peace and safety here. But you had nearly for the last time, pressed the hand and looked mildly into the face of your friend. There never has scarcely been known a more tempestuous time upon this coast. Shipwrecks have been uncommonly frequent during the period we were weathering Cape Clear. I believe the John Adams is the only vessel which has come into port sound, though she carried away two of her sails. I visited the Athenæum, having a public news-room on the lower floor, and a large library and reading-room on the second. It has been instituted about ten years. Dr. Currie and Mr. Roscoe were the original advocates of this institution. Roscoe spends much of his time in reading, and probably wrote much of his Lorenzo here. He has now in the press his Pope Leo, which, if as full of intellec-

tual blaze as his Lorenzo, will afford still more warmth and light to the dark and long unopened caves, which held the mouldering fragments of Roman sentiment and the early products of Italian genius. Cooper is not thought much of in England. There is Kemble and Cooke, the latter of whom, I understand, is not so temperate as his welfare requires. Cooper talks of coming to Boston, and trying to take the management of the theatre.

"The determination of the First Consul to invade the kingdom is as yet unattempted, but strongly and universally believed. The face of the kingdom is set in fortitude and strength, though the features of Ireland are destroying, in some measure, the interesting uniformity. In Ireland there is still a rancorous spirit of rebellion passing over the land. This place is unquestionably fixed on by Bonaparte as the vulnerable point. The French ships are prepared to carry a large number of troops to Ireland. England and Scotland, however, are wonderful in their military arrangements. Some assert that if the First Consul should not invade Britain, that there may be an invasion of France. The King has given orders and made arrangements to leave Windsor in one moment's warning, and hoist the royal standard with his own old hand at London, in case of invasion."

December 8. From R. K. Randolph in Prince Edward, Va. That Mr. Shaw was still collecting books afar off, as well as near, appears from the following extract. "In this remote situation from the capital, perhaps it will not be in my power to

be serviceable to you, as you may expect, and as I could wish. But, as far as possible, I will comply with your request. Whenever I visit Richmond, which will be two or three times a year, I will inquire for all such works as are worth preservation." The letter proceeds: "If it could be possible, nothing could give me more pleasure than to see all my friends from New England in this wilderness of ignorance and democracy. Virginian-like, I am ambitious of nothing but freedom. Here I am, as free as the air that whistles through my forest."

Dec. 23. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "I received yesterday your favor of the 13th inst., inclosing a strip from the Centinel, for the history of which I am much obliged to you. I had already seen it and have written a long letter to Mr. Hall, containing my observations upon it, which I presume he will communicate either in tenor or substance to you. I do not impute either the writing or the publication of those remarks to a disposition unfriendly to me in Mr. Russell or his correspondent; but to their strong feelings relative to the subjects upon which they disapproved my conduct, and to their being misinformed concerning it. Both subjects had been decided before the Centinel containing the animadversions arrived here.

"The letter from Messrs. Russell and Cutler, which you enclosed, contains a request which I most sincerely wish it were in my power to comply with. But independent of the impropriety there would be in my expressing opinions upon subjects under the consideration of Congress, before their decision, partic-

ularly when it must necessarily involve a judgment of different opinions entertained by others, I really cannot command the necessary time. I regret very much that the federal newspapers not only neglect but misrepresent so much of what is doing here; but it appears to me impossible that the same person should at once perform the part of an industrious actor, and a faithful historian of the scene.

"As often, however, as I can find an hour to devote to this purpose, I will write you a summary of subjects which are in agitation, and you will communicate to them such parts of them as you shall think expedient. It will relate altogether to facts. Those gentlemen will readily conceive that as this is the place where *it is my duty* to avow, without disguise or concealment, my opinions upon public measures and interests, and as I cannot even perform that duty without giving offence, at times, to those whom I am most desirous to satisfy, I may without improper timidity feel unwilling to express such offensive opinions, where no duty requires that I should.

"If I were to undertake an elaborate justification of those opinions which I am here called upon to make public, it would require much more than all my time to perform the task. And after all, I should not always succeed. I believe that the proposal made me by those gentlemen was with a view very friendly to me, and I feel obliged to them for it. I therefore regret the more, that I am unable to accede to it in its full extent. I will thank you to

mention this to them. I will answer their letter shortly."

Dec. 24. From the same. "I have particular reasons for requesting you to inform me who the member of Congress was, from whom Mr. Russell received the letter he showed you, containing remarks on my conduct with points of admiration, and the quotation from Virgil. The knowledge of his name will, in every probability, enable me to make such explanations to him as will be entirely satisfactory to him and to me. As Mr. Russell showed you the letter, and afterwards published its substance, there could be no obligation upon you, for secreting the name. I have this day written to him to ask the name of his correspondent, and expect he will give it me; but at any rate I wish to know it, and will thank you to answer this letter as soon as possible.

"Congress have agreed *not* to adjourn over the Christmas holidays, as was proposed. They are to do as much business next week as any other. There are now two very important bills in different stages of preparation, one for introducing our revenue system into Louisiana, and the other for making a form of government for Louisiana. The former has passed the House of Representatives with little or no opposition; the latter is at once in the hands of two committees; one from the House, and one from the Senate. They will probably both be considerably debated before their final passage."

1804, Feb. 23. From Walter in London. "The King has a renewal of his derangement. He is not able to do official business. A regency will be

probably appointed. This may operate to drive the ministry from their seats. The invasion is considered as nearly abandoned. The Powers of Europe are quite still. I am going through a course of history, and have nearly finished Mitford's Greece, which has good matter and a bad manner. I read my Greek, and generally go through a book of the Odyssey in two or three lessons, with the help of the Latin. This increases and confirms my knowledge of these languages. I attend to what transpires in the city and world, and make my notes of characters and events."

March 19. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "We are in the midst of a discussion on a bill to remove the temporary seat of government to Baltimore. The history of this is not a little curious; but I must reserve an account of it for a future occasion. While I write, the yeas and nays are taken on this bill's passing to the third reading. Yeas 9. Nays 19."

April. Mr. Shaw was admitted an attorney at the Court of Common Pleas in Suffolk County. Unable, like all his race, to give a sure interpretation of the signs of the future, he experienced, on this occasion, the mingled emotions of hope and fear, as to the success of his adopted profession. Participating in the political zeal which prevailed through the country, and which had been nourished by his immediate intercourse with prominent statesmen, he was chosen, this year, secretary of the federal central committee for Massachusetts. This trust was conferred on him for several successive years.

April 23. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "The expense of smoking tobacco, though considerable, is scarcely to be compared with its injury to the mind and body. It generally creates an unnatural thirst, the baneful influence of which, young people should avoid as among the worst of evils. I confess to you, my dear son, that whenever I see young men addicted to such a habit, I tremble for the consequences. We cannot always make good our words, while slaves of habit, 'Thus far will we go, and no farther.' Evils encroach on our freedom often imperceptibly. Do not think this a mother's whim. It is the result of close observation."

Aug. 2. "I hear you have been confined with a rheumatic fever. I fear that you are too presuming, and think because others expose themselves to damp and wet weather, you can do the same. But your constitution received an injury, by the wound in your ancle which, early in life, weakened your whole frame. It must be carefully dealt with, if you would enjoy any degree of health. What is your business and its prospects? The man of real integrity seldom fails of obtaining the public confidence, which brings him employment and maintenance. Patience, perseverance and economy, with this virtue, are essential to the success of every profession, but especially so of the law.

"General Hamilton's death forms an absorbing topic of public conversation. However great his military and literary character, yet 'as a fool dieth, so did he.' He who had given full proof of courage in his country's service, should have given an

example against duelling, and not placed his life in the hands of a man, actuated by the passions of malice and revenge."

1805, Jan. 17. In a letter from J. Q. Adams to Mr. Shaw, he mentioned an interesting case about a slave,[1] claimed by Mr. Moore, a Senator in Congress from Virginia. It appears that the slave had fled from him several years before, and was at the date of the letter in Boston. Then the constitution was so construed here, that such fugitives were taken and sent back to their masters by a warrant from any justice of the peace. The master of the slave wished to have him sent in a vessel to Norfolk or Richmond.

Jan. 22. Mr. Shaw having written to Samuel A. Otis, in Washington, for pamphlets to enlarge his collection, the latter wrote him as follows: "Of late, Congress are become economical about printing, and the House of Representatives allow but one copy to each member." This is quite a contrast to similar appropriations since.

April. As secretary of the federal central committee, Mr. Shaw sent the following circular to leading men of several places. This gives some prominent features of the vigilance which his party used to regain their strength. It proceeds: "The success which has attended our late efforts, is a pledge and encouragement to a continuance of them. We therefore ask your attention and communication to

[1] He was about thirty years of age, absconded in 1792, went by the name of James Grigsby, in Boston, where he was a barber by trade. Attempts had been made to recover him, but ineffectually.

the federalists, in the different towns, of the following ideas. For the purpose of securing an ascendency in the House of Representatives the last year, the jacobins adopted a plan which nearly effected their purpose. They multiplied the number of Representatives to almost their extreme point in all towns, in which they had a decided majority. They allowed no such town to be without a representative, and they directed their partizans, in all towns unquestionably federal, to avail themselves of topics, economical, local, or in other respects popular, to prevent them from exercising their constitutional privilege. The singular success which attended this plan, and the consequent federal weakness which the last year's House of Representatives exhibited, was one and no inconsiderable cause of the disgrace which the State suffered in the autumn, and of the dangers which it has this spring scarcely escaped. As an evidence of the greatness of their success by this plan, we state, that out of one hundred towns, which neglected to send representatives the last year, *eighty-five* were unquestionably federal. In addition to which, the increase in the number of representatives in the great federal towns bore no proportion to the increase in the great democratic towns. The whole of this plan, it is, perhaps, unworthy the federalists to copy; but a part, it is certainly their duty not to neglect. For this purpose, we recommend, 1. That the federalists in all the towns be apprised of the preceding facts, and that in those undoubtedly federal, they be urged not to fail to send a representative, and to neglect no

exertion to secure the most suitable candidate and his election. 2. That the great federal towns be invited and pressed to send as many representatives as they conveniently can, without giving offence to their own party. In making up their opinions upon this point, they ought particularly to be cautioned against mistaking the interested outcries of their opponents for the evidence of the real dissatisfaction of their friends.

"To aid you in the above object, we inclose you a list of all the towns in your county which have, according to the best information we can obtain, a decided federal majority, and request that, without delay, you would communicate these hints to leading federalists in each, respectively, and urge them, according to the light and opportunities local circumstances may afford."

About this time Mr. Shaw writes to one of his friends as follows: "Knowing the interest which you are pleased to take in the 'Anthology,' and your acquaintance with several gentlemen of the law in New York, I am induced to solicit your aid in obtaining reviews of publications in your State, and in other respects for our work." He was thus engaged with others to render the publication useful, and also to keep it alive through pecuniary patronage.

July 28. Mr. Shaw received a letter from C. P. Wayne, Philadelphia, who desired him to deliver the volumes, containing Marshall's Life of Washington, to President John Adams.

Aug. 28. Miss Hannah Adams, in Wrentham, writes Mr. Shaw the following account of herself.

However this is extended, it is valuable for its biographical facts of a worthy author, and therefore deserves to be preserved in print.

"Your kindness to me, and the candor and benevolence which distinguish your character, has encouraged me to address you with the most perfect confidence; and I should have complied with your request immediately after my return from town, but a very feeble state of health has obliged me to lay aside my pen; and I came to this place in order to consult Dr. Mann, who is one of my kindest friends. My health is now on the mending hand; and without apologizing for my egotism, I will endeavor to be as minute as possible.

"I was originally of a feeble constitution, educated in a very retired situation, and averse to society in general. The first strong propensity of my soul, which I can recollect, was an *ardent curiosity*, which induced me to seek my enjoyment from reading. In my youthful days I was passionately fond of poetry and novels; and as my time passed in seclusion from the world, I perused a great variety of these kinds of books, which gave me romantic and false ideas of life, and heightened my dislike to common society.

"In order to turn my attention to a different kind of reading, and indulge my curiosity by exploring the sentiments of the various religious denominations, I began to write my View of Religions, in the form in which it now appears, in the year 1778. As I had not at that time any intention of publishing it, I made it at first only an occasional amusement. But my

inability to support myself in any other way induced me, in 1784, to put it to press. The printer was artful enough to dupe my father in making the bargain, and all the compensation I was able to obtain was only fifty books; and it was with great difficulty I procured those books bound, after the printer had the whole benefit of receiving the money from the subscribers, who numbered between four and five hundred. He had, besides, printed a large edition, and distributed them so widely, that it was with difficulty I procured a sale for my books at one dollar and twenty-five cents per volume.

"Compiling this work required my entering into a large field of reading; and, as I am naturally timid, and constitutionally wanting in firmness and decision, examining so many various and contradictory systems had such an effect on my feelings as to destroy my health by bringing on a train of the most painful nervous complaints, to which I have ever been subject, and I was at this time reduced so low that my life was despaired of. At length, after a period of the most exquisite sufferings, I began to recover in 1786, and took the precaution to secure my copy-right, agreeably to the law which had been passed in Massachusetts in 1783. Soon after, I received a letter from the printer, informing me, that 'he had sold the greatest part of the first edition; was about to reprint it; and wished to know if I had any thing to add.' I felt indignant at his insulting proposal, and immediately returned this laconic answer. 'I have secured the copy-right to my publi-

cation, and therefore take the liberty to forbid you to reprint it upon your peril.' He considered this as a vain threat, and said, as I was informed, that he should not pay any regard to what I said; for admitting that I had secured a copy-right, I was not able to republish the book myself. After this I engaged a gentleman of my acquaintance to call upon him, and assure him that though I was destitute of the means of defending myself, I had friends who would protect me from such injurious treatment. This intelligence induced him finally to relinquish his design.

"The information that the first edition of my work was sold, gave me the first idea of reprinting it for my own benefit. But my being entirely destitute of pecuniary resources, my retired situation, ignorance of the world, feeble state of health, incapacity of conducting business myself, and want of friends who were able and willing to assist me, rendered it extremely difficult. Even the few friends I then had, in general supposed the disadvantages in my situation so great, that they wounded my feelings by depressing my hopes and discouraging my exertions.

"While my mind was thus involved in perplexity, I had the misfortune to lose a beloved sister, who was dearer to me than life. My attachment to her equalled the high descriptions of friendship in poetry and novels. Her death seemed to deprive me of the better half of my existence, and the world appeared a desert, in which I was left almost alone, without health and without property. My father's circum-

stances were very low, and I had not any relation or friend on earth from whom I might reasonably expect to derive assistance.

"Yet it was, perhaps, a happy circumstance for me, after the great and recent loss I had sustained, that poverty impelled me to exert myself to the utmost to extricate myself from my difficulties; I might otherwise have been in more danger of sinking under the weight of affliction, in this darkest period of my existence. In the year 1790, I sent a petition to Congress, (which Mr. Ames presented at my request,) for a general law to be passed which would secure to authors the exclusive right of their publications, and after making the addition of an hundred pages to my View of Religions, sent letters to a number of printers requesting them to inform me on what terms they would undertake the publication. Though all my letters were nearly the same, and consisted only of a few plain categorical questions, their answers were various, ambiguous, generally lengthy, and to me, in some particulars, wholly unintelligible. Mr. Folsom, who appeared to be more generous and decided than the others, offered me an hundred books for an edition of a thousand copies. As I had not any person to assist me, when I came to town in order to conclude a bargain with him on these terms, a female friend of mine was so kind as to introduce me to the Rev. Mr. Freeman, and I shall ever remember his goodness to me with the most lively gratitude; for the first time in my life, I found a *friend* and *benefactor* who understood business, and who, from the most disinterested

motives, was ready to give me assistance. He relieved my mind from a weight of care, by taking the trouble of transacting my business with the printer, and I soon found the benefit of his patronage in procuring a large number of subscribers. He then agreed with Mr. Folsom to print an edition of 1,000 copies, on favorable terms, and receive his pay from the subscribers; and also agreed with the bookbinders to take books for their trouble. After the settlements were made, a handsome compensation remained for me. The compilation was published, and the copy-right secured, in 1791. The books were sold to subscribers for one dollar and seventy-five cents a copy, and had a more rapid circulation than any of my after publications. The emolument I derived placed me in a comfortable situation, enabled me to discharge the debts I had contracted during mine and my sister's illness, and to put out a small sum upon interest.

"What the terms were I have now forgot, and have not my papers by me, else I would have been more particular. Encouraged and animated by this success, in 1793 I engaged in writing the Summary History of New England, which was originally intended for the use of schools. The materials for this work lay scattered in many large volumes and manuscripts, which I took indefatigable pains to collect and condense. If there had been only one History of New England then extant, which had been brought down to the period to which mine extended, my labor would have been comparatively small. I was obliged to collect and

condense a great part of the work from large and detached histories of the several States, and connect them together wholly without a guide; and as there was not any authentic history of Rhode Island, except Callender's, I spent some time in Providence in examining the records in the secretary's office. When at length I had completed a great part of the compilation, I had the misfortune to almost entirely lose the use of my eyes, and the medicines which I used for several months appeared rather to increase, than to mitigate the disorder. I was wholly deprived of the pleasure and advantage of reading and writing, and suffered extremely from the gloomy apprehension of being totally blind. At length I applied to Dr. Jeffries; and by following his prescriptions for about two years, I partially recovered my sight. In 1799 my history was published; but as I was obliged to employ an amanuensis to transcribe for me the account of the American war, that part, in particular, was much less condensed than I had intended. The work was printed at Dedham, by Herman Mann and a half brother of mine, who was then partner with him and now follows the seas. The apprehension that the weakness of my eyes would prevent my ever completing the compilation, had induced me to drop the subscription which was set on foot before they began to fail, and I was hence obliged to publish the work at my own expense. The printers were both in very low circumstances, and required immediate payment before I could dispose of my books. My father was not able to give me the same assistance

in helping me sell them as he did when I published the second edition of my View of Religions. I was obliged to borrow a considerable sum of money to defray the expenses of the work, which, as the paper was very good and the pages greatly overrun what I intended, were large. These circumstances hindered my realizing the emolument I expected from the work.

"The next publication I engaged in was the third edition of my View of Religions, in which I made the edition of 110 pages, part of which was the introduction, which gives an account of the state of the world when Christ appeared. Mr. Freeman made a bargain with Manning & Loring, that for an edition of 2,000 copies they should allow me five hundred dollars. The work was printed in 1801, and the payments which were annually made relieved me from the embarrassments into which I was involved by publishing the History of New England at my own expense. I now determined to wait till the greatest part of that edition was sold, and then abridge it for the use of schools.

"In the mean time, as I supposed a compilation which would give a concise view of the Evidences of the Christian Religion might be useful to young people, I engaged in this design. But as my father, from his advanced age and increasing infirmities, was more and more unable to assist me in borrowing books, I found a great difficulty in procuring suitable materials for this work; a large part of which, (as well as of the additions to the third edition of my View of Religions,) was collected from

booksellers' stores, where I made extracts from such writings as I found it impossible to purchase or borrow, and which were necessary in this compilation. After I had completed the work, I found the printers and booksellers, in general, unwilling to publish it at their risk, because they supposed the subject would be unpopular. At length, Mr. John West offered to undertake it, provided he might receive the money from the subscribers, and the whole edition remain in his hands till he was reimbursed; and he would then divide the remainder of the edition, which was to consist of a thousand copies, with me. He however candidly told me that 'he did not think what he offered would afford me the profit I ought to make, though he could not afford to give me any more.' After Mr. Freeman had applied to a number of printers and booksellers, who all refused to undertake the work at their own risk, as the publishing my History of New England had made me too timid and cautious to print it at my own expense, he advised me to accede to Mr. West's terms, and the compilation was printed in 1804. Mr. West sold five hundred and twenty-five books to reimburse himself. Afterwards, in making the division, two hundred and thirty-seven books in sheets remained for my compensation."

Miss Adams proceeds to describe her intention of abridging her History of New England and of her disappointment in learning that a similar work had been undertaken by Rev. Dr. Morse and Rev. Mr. Parish.

"When I began to transcribe my abridgment

for the press, I intended to reperuse all the most valuable publications on the subject which I had consulted when I wrote my Summary History; but I had not proceeded far, when my eyes, which have never recovered the injury they then received, failed to such a degree, as to render it impossible for me to pay that attention to the correctness of the work which I should otherwise have done. However, I trust I shall find that candor with which my publications have hitherto been received, which to my inexpressible satisfaction, has far exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

"Since the age and infirmities of my father have prevented his assisting me, as he formerly did, in selling and exchanging my books, I have been necessitated to exert myself in doing business, which is out of the female line. And as I am sensible my manners are remarkably awkward, this consciousness, joined with my ignorance of the established rules of propriety, has made me tremblingly apprehensive of exposing myself to ridicule. These feelings are, however, much less painful than they have formerly been. In order to reconcile myself to my fate, I have considered, that what is morally right, and necessary to be done in the situation in which Providence has placed me, cannot be in itself improper; and though my acting upon this principle may have exposed me to ridicule, if I can have the approbation of my own heart, and the esteem of a *few friends* whose good opinion *I most highly prize*, I can rise superior to the ridicule, or censure of the world in general.

"In the life of Mrs. Charlotte Smith, it is observed that, 'The penalties and discouragements attending the profession of an author fall upon women with a double weight; to the curiosity of the idle and the envy of the malicious their sex affords a peculiar excitement. Arraigned not merely as writers, but as women, their characters, their conduct, even their personal endowments become the objects of severe inquisition; from the common allowances claimed by the species, literary women appear to be exempted; in detecting their errors, and exposing their foibles, malignant ingenuity is active and unwearied. Vain would be the hope to shield themselves from detraction, by the severest prudence, or the most entire seclusion; wanton malice in the failure of facts, amply supplies materials for defamation, while from the anguish of wounded delicacy the gratification of demons seems to be extracted.'

"Though I have been too insignificant, and have been treated with too much candor to wholly realize the truth of all the above remarks; yet from my poverty, retired situation, ignorance of the world, and incapacity for conducting business, I have fully experienced the disadvantages and discouragements which attend my sex when engaged in literary pursuits. Notwithstanding all the exertions I have made since I began to write for the press, almost all the little property I have consists in books, which I find it difficult to dispose of to advantage. This circumstance has made me wish, if possible, to establish a circulating library, as I could, by exchanging the books I have now on hand, set

up a small store; and the weakness of my eyes, since I wrote my Summary History of New England, has retarded all my literary pursuits. I also labor under various other disadvantages, which I feel myself unable to enumerate or describe.

"I have, however, the greatest cause to adore the goodness of divine Providence in rendering my situation in life much more comfortable than, gloomy as my prospects once were, I had any reason to have anticipated. And I feel truly grateful to those literary gentlemen who have patronized my compilations.

"I must be allowed to consider myself under great obligations to you, sir, in particular; since I am sensible, that by your kindness to me you gratify the benevolent feelings of your heart, I derive pleasure by indulging my grateful sentiments. That heaven may reward and bless you, is the ardent wish of

"Your much obliged friend,

"HANNAH ADAMS."

Though the subsequent account given by Hannah Adams of herself, was written in 1808, yet the compiler has thought that unity of idea as to her early life, requires it to be placed in immediate succession to the preceding.

"I was born in the year 1755. From my infancy I had an infirm constitution, in particular an extreme weakness and irritability in my nervous system. My mother was an excellent woman, but as she possessed great tenderness and sensibility, I was

educated in all the habits of debilitating softness; besides, my father's circumstances at that time were very different from what they are at present, and it was not then supposed that I should ever be reduced to the necessity of making much exertions for a support. Partly from want of health, and an early singularity of taste, I never took any pleasure in childish amusements, and was averse to, and sought to avoid company. However, my life was not devoid of pleasure; that ardent curiosity, which appears to me to have been the first strong propensity of my soul, induced me to seek my enjoyment from reading, which I was left to select for myself before my judgment was sufficiently informed to make a proper choice.

"The death of my mother was the first capital misfortune of my life. I lost that indulgent parent when about ten years old, an age in which daughters have the greatest need of maternal direction and assistance. A few years after, my father failed in trade, and I found myself reduced to poverty, with a constitution and early habits which rendered me ill calculated to support myself by my own exertions. However, as my health was too feeble for me to engage in any laborious employment, I had considerable leisure to attend to reading. Poetry and novels were my favorite books, and the latter kind of reading engrossed too much of my time and attention. I had a strong desire to learn the rudiments of Latin, Greek, geography and logic, which was unexpectedly gratified by some gentlemen who came to board at my father's.

"About this time I had reached my eighteenth yea, and perhaps few females at that age had perused more books; but my reading was desultory, and ill chosen; and much of it tended rather to increase that sensibility which opens new avenues of suffering, than to improve the understanding and strengthen the mind. I had lived exceedingly retired, and had no opportunities of being acquainted with the world. And perhaps no person was ever less calculated, from early habits, to gain a living by their own exertions, or from a radical want of health and firmness of mind, was formed to feel more sensibly the difficulties of a poor and dependent situation."

Oct. 3. A report is made and accepted by the Anthology Society for the regulation of their proceedings as a literary association. It was prepared by three of their members, A. M. Walter, William S. Shaw, and J. S. Buckminster. Such an association had already been formed more than a year, and had conducted "The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review," published by Monroe & Francis, as the successor of "The Monthly Anthology[1] or Magazine of Polite Literature," edited by Sylvanus Per-se, whose real name was Phineas Adams. Its officers, now elected, are John Sylvester John Gardiner, President; Wm. Emerson, Vice President; Arthur Maynard Walter, Secretary; William Smith Shaw, Treasurer; and Samuel Cooper Thacher, Editor.

Oct. 14. A letter from Joshua Belcher, in Boston, stated that he had become the proprietor of

[1] The first number of this work appeared in November, 1803.

the Boston Weekly Magazine, published by Gilbert & Dean, and requested Mr. Shaw to encourage the periodical by contributions to its pages.

Oct. 23. "At a meeting of the Anthology Society, at Mr. Gardiner's in Franklin Place, it was voted, on motion of Mr. Emerson, seconded by Mr. Shaw, that a Library of periodical publications be instituted for the use of the Society." Several members, of whom is Mr. Shaw, make donations towards such an object. Thus commenced the nucleus of the Boston Athenæum.

Oct. 30. From Dr. Waterhouse at Cambridge. "Dr. Waterhouse acknowledges himself gratified in finding that any part of his communications have met the approbation of the editors of the Monthly Anthology. The scientific part of the essays, entitled The Botanist, are transcripts of parts of a course of lectures, began about eighteen years ago, with a view of introducing and establishing natural history, especially botany, in the University at Cambridge. Occurrences and local circumstances compelled him to drop botany, for a time, to make room for the history of that science and of botanical gardens. He hopes, however, to join on and continue the thread of the discussion from Numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5, but his quotidianical lectures prevent it for the present. Dr. W. dares not accept the invitation to review any work whatever; for besides a thorough knowledge of the subject, a reviewer must possess a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualifications; among which may be mentioned that of thinking down all his prejudices, and being able, with the clear con-

science of a juror, to give a verdict agreeably to that golden rule of Shakspeare,

> 'Nothing extenuate,
> Nor set down aught in malice.'"

Oct. 31. Mr. Shaw is chosen by the Anthology Society, to write a retrospect of political and historical works, during six months, for their periodical.

Nov. 1. Among his papers is an interesting sketch of the character of Dr. James Currie, under this date.

Nov. 3. A communication from Josiah Quincy in New York, relative to paying the expenses of Professor Peck, of Harvard College, while in Europe.

Nov. 4. A letter from Caleb P. Wayne in Philadelphia concerning collections for the Anthology Reading Room. "It will afford me much pleasure to aid you in your pursuits, and I will most cheerfully use my endeavors to procure the pamphlets you are anxious to obtain."

Nov. 21. The Anthology Society appoint Mr. Shaw to write the number, called The Remarker, for their work.

Dec. 25. As he was still active in the collecting of tracts, Josiah Quincy writes him from Washington, D. C. "I retain duplicates here, with one of which I mean to feed your *hobby*."

Dec. 27. From John Q. Adams in Washington to Mr. Shaw in Boston. "I have to thank you for the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and for

the last number of the Anthology, which came at the same time. I am much pleased with the spirit of this publication, which appears to improve as it advances, and which I hope you will not suffer to flag. You observe that a regular contribution from me would be useful to the success of the work. The state of my health, and the real pressure of occupations which I have upon me, forbids my undertaking to furnish a constant portion of composition for every month. I hope to prove my good will to the association and the establishment by some occasional assistance from time to time. I am even now reading with particular attention the Life of Washington, with a view to the promise I have made respecting it; and although its accomplishment may be delayed until the work itself shall be out complete, I shall probably make up in point of quantity for the lapse of time. I shall always be glad to furnish you with pamphlets or papers which may be useful to you, approving much the additional eight pages you propose to give in future and the objects to which they will be devoted. But I question whether you will have space enough to give the Congressional debates on interesting subjects, unless it be in a very concise abridgment of them.

"You know we have a Tunisian embassy here, and there are also deputations from eight or ten Indian tribes on visits to the seat of government. The Africans and Americans sometimes meet, and are objects of mutual curiosity to each other. One of the committees of the House of Representatives on the President's message, have reported to build

fifty gun-boats and six seventy-four gun-ships. The gun-boats I presume will pass; but I fear the seventy-four's will sink in the passage."

Mr. Shaw reads a Review of the Life of Dr. Johnson, President of Columbia College, N. Y., before the Anthology Society, which they accept for publication.

1806, Jan. 2. From William Cranch in Washington. "I received a letter from you some time ago, with two numbers of the Anthology, for which I thank you. I have delayed answering it, in the hope that I should be able to promise you a review of the work you mention; but having been engaged in court every day since the receipt of your letter, and expecting to continue so engaged until the middle of April, I am afraid I shall not be able to comply with your request soon enough to answer your purpose."

CHAPTER X.

Review—Anthology—Closed doors of Congress—Thermometrical—Female Asylum—Catastrophe of Leyden—Reading Room in Boston—Guinea Ships—Ballston Water—Fear of Political Opponents—Ree's Cyclopedia—Rhetorical Lectures—London—British Museum—Choice of a Wife—Gleaner—Select Speeches—Progress of the Reading Room—Order for the purchase of Books in Europe—History of New England.

1806, Jan. 3. A letter from Miss Hannah Adams at Medford. An extract from it shows her accustomed modesty as a writer. "In compliance with your request, I have carefully perused the History of North and South America; but I find myself so deficient in the task of reviewing, that I dare not suppose what I have written can be of any use; and I feel mortified that I must disappoint your expectation in this respect."

Jan. 6. A letter from Robert Smith in Charleston. "After a pleasing though somewhat fatiguing journey, I have arrived at this place. I have now to request the favor of your obtaining the numbers of the Anthology, issued subsequent to July, and sending them to me by the first safe conveyance. Remember me affectionately to such of my Massachusetts friends as inquire for me. Be assured, I often reccollect with pleasure the delight-

ful hours I spent with them; scarcely realize they are passed, and sigh that they can no more return. Tell Mrs. C. that a barrel of potatoes arrived from my plantation too late to go in the last vessel to Boston. But I will take advantage of the next."

Jan. 12. From Josiah Quincy in Washington to Shaw in Boston. "I look impatiently for letters from you, touching local news and interests. Men who write me, think nothing valuable that has relation to any thing else than the great affairs of the nation. Now I love a little plain matter of fact about the common affairs of the town, and the little alterations which gradually take place in our friendly circles and neighborhood. I am always willing that you should get up on your hobby, and ride down half the letter on pamphlets and Anthologies, but only save the remainder for my special accommodation, for a detail of minute events. As to what we are doing here, the papers will inform you as much as I can and ought. To-day is the sixth of our successive closed-door sessions. Events and scenes of no small import agitate and divide Congress. I have seen in the publication of letters, from other members of Congress, how essential it is to maintain even an over scrupulous anxiety upon this point. You must restrain your curiosity, being assured that time will produce you an ample gratification."

Jan. 22. From Nicholas G. Dufief in Philadelphia. "More honor than I merit has been done me in the review of my book. Please to present for me, my best thanks to the editors; inform them

that I will use every exertion to render the second edition, which I am preparing for the press, more worthy of their notice. I have collected two works for the Library of the Anthology: Carr's Northern Summer and the Philadelphia Greek edition of Xenophon. Should the editors think them deserving attention, I shall be much obliged to them for their favorable mention, as it may be of service to the publishers."

Jan. 27. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "I have this morning received your favor of the 7th, and thank you for it; I should be glad to thank you more frequently than I have an opportunity to do for such favors. I cannot promise to write you often at much length, but I shall send you, as often as I can, documents which may be of use to you; and you will attribute to my continual occupations, from which I cannot now at least take upon myself to claim an exemption, that I do not write you with more prolixity.

"I enclose you the answers to the queries of Mr. Thacher which you sent me some time since, and which I have obtained from Mr. Thurston, one of the senators from the State of Kentucky, a gentleman of the profession, in whose information on this subject I think the fullest reliance may be placed.

"You will infer from the documents which I have sent, for you, that we are very busy upon affairs of a public nature, and from the frequency of our closed-door deliberations you will see that matter for secret debate is not wanting. I suppose you will see in the newspapers the controversy which

has arisen between our Executive and the Spanish Minister. I have, however, not seen the publication myself. Mr. S. H. Smith does not think proper to give it to *his* readers.

"I shall send you immediately after the close of this month, my thermometrical register, in such a comparative view, that if you have kept a similar record at Boston, you can show in one view a parallel between the temperature of the two climates at the same times; and it will make a good monthly page for the Anthology."

March 6. As a member of the Anthology Society, Mr. Shaw receives a communication, relative to a sermon preached by Mr. Emerson before the Boston Female Asylum. It disapproves of the opinion expressed by the preacher concerning those who were unfriendly to the institution. The writer of it says: "I know several persons whose judgment cannot be impeached, whose liberality was never called in question, and whose general deportment appears to be governed by the principles of the religion of Jesus, who have their doubts of the ultimate benefit of this establishment, who have therefore not patronized it; but, on good grounds, as they have thought, have slightly opposed it." This passage is presented as a historical item of the Asylum which has been prospered and now accommodates its inmates with buildings and grounds of convenience and pleasantness.

March 13. From President John Adams in Quincy. "The catastrophe of Leyden is to me a most affecting event; a beautiful city where I resided

with my children many months, and where I attended divine service on Sundays in the venerable temple where Mr. Robinson and his congregation worshiped for a dozen years before their pilgrimage to Plymouth. This very ancient and revered edifice is now, probably, a mass of ruins. The University of Leyden, with all its renown, is another confused heap. I am not ashamed to be known to the public as a lover of Leyden."

In the spring of this year, Mr. Shaw enters on the duties of clerk of the United States district court. He received this appointment from the Hon. John Davis, then and long afterwards judge of the same court. He did this with the expectation, that he should not only have increased means to supply his personal wants; but especially to aid others and promote his strong wish for the advancement of literature and science.

May 2. At a meeting of the Anthology Society, they consider the question as to the establishment of a reading-room in Boston. "Some conversation had formerly taken place on this subject, in which Mr. Shaw was principally active; he now brought it forward for more general discussion." After remarks by the members, Mr. Shaw's motion for a committee to consider and report on the matter, was adopted. Referring to this subject, the Hon. Josiah Quincy remarked[1] as follows: "The tact of William Smith Shaw first discerned a way of escape from their difficulties. Having formed the opinion

[1] In his Address of April 27, 1847, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new edifice for the Athenæum.

that, by asking from the community only a small pecuniary advance, and by promising a quick return in pleasure and information, what a love of letters might not effect, a love of novelty and amusement might obtain, he proposed, and, on his motion and active urgency, the associated scholars were persuaded to attempt establishing a reading-room, to be called, after the name of their Society, 'The Anthology Reading-Room.'"

May 6. The committee meet at Rev. Mr. Gardiner's. The chairman, Mr. Shaw, read a prospectus, which they accepted with some alterations. In the afternoon it was adopted by the Society. It was immediately printed and circulated. The caption of it and a sentence or two follow:

"*Proposal for the Establishing of a Reading-Room in Boston, to be called The Anthology Reading-Room.* The editors of the Anthology, in presenting the following proposal for the establishment of a *public reading-room* in this town, by subscription, to be called *The Anthology Reading-Room*, flatter themselves, that a project which may be made so auxiliary to literature, and so useful to the public, will receive ample patronage from the liberal gentlemen of Boston. The projected plan will not only afford the subscribers an agreeable place of resort, but opportunities of literary intercourse, and the pleasure of perusing the principal European and American periodical publications, at an expense not exceeding that of a single *daily* paper." The room was to be opened from nine o'clock in the

morning till nine in the evening. Each subscriber was to pay ten dollars a year.

June 9. From Joseph S. Buckminster in Liverpool. "My happiness in this place would be as great as any stranger could enjoy, if I could only dismiss for a time the recollection of Boston and the friends whom I left there. England, with all her learning, luxury and arts, has not yet furnished me with any pleasure equivalent to that which I relinquished when I broke away from the circle of beloved acquaintances in Boston, who were bound to me by all the enthusiasm of literature, by habits of daily intimacy, by similarity of pursuits and of age, and by the still finer ties of that holy affection, on which Cicero has written that golden treatise, and I believe I may also add, by the bonds of Christian charity and love. I promised you some literary intelligence as soon as I could find any in this focus of Guinea ships." He then proceeds to give an account of literary societies in that city. He was anticipating an interview with Roscoe, the noted author. He was informed that Southey wrote the Review of Malthus on Population. He closes: "Give my love to those whom I love. I will trust your knowledge of my partialities. Do not forget to write me particularly; nothing can be uninteresting. Trifles light as air about any of my friends, if wafted across the Atlantic, will be to me more precious than all the Pythagorean sentences, and will be devoured with more eagerness than the news of the battle of Trafalgar."

June 23. From Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., in

Albany. After speaking of a literary criticism, which he communicated for the Anthology, he closes in the language, "When I was in Boston, you gave me no reason to hope that I should see you here in the course of the summer. Such an event, however, would give me unfeigned pleasure. As an inducement for such a jaunt, I have nothing more to offer you than Ballston water, pure air, a blue sky and a welcome friend."

July 10. From a letter of John Q. Adams to Mr. Shaw, the eloquent lectures of the former, as professor of rhetoric in Harvard College, were to commence at two o'clock of the next day.

July 14. By a letter from a State committee of the federal party to Mr. Shaw, as their secretary, it appears that they really feared, that their political opponents intended, if successful in their purpose, to interpret and apply the constitution so that they might get "the property of the rich" and control "the existing rights of the citizens." Then both of these parties had not sufficiently tried each other to be free from the apprehension, that each, if having the dominancy, would ruin the liberties of our republic. Time has shown that both might have been trusted.

July 16. A letter from Munroe & Francis to Mr. Shaw, states their opinion, as publishers of the Anthology, that this periodical must cease unless it has more subscribers; it has only 440, while the Literary Messenger has 600, and the Portfolio 1,500.

July 22. Among the papers of Mr. Shaw is a protest of Boston gentlemen, who were subscribers

to the American edition of Ree's Cyclopædia, published in Philadelphia. It complains that the editors have omitted some passages, contrary to their expressed purpose. It particularly refers to the character of Abernethy, as not being fully given as to his religious sentiments. It states that a similar remonstrance had been made by subscribers of Salem and vicinity. One of its closing passages is as follows: "We sincerely regret that any reason has been given for a remonstrance of this nature; being reluctant at creating any embarassment to the enterprising editors, to whom we wish all merited success in their arduous and expensive undertaking. But the subject of our complaint involves considerations too interesting to be regarded with indifference, and we are persuaded that we ought not to repress our discontent or dissemble our disaffection."

July 25. William Meredith of Philadelphia to Mr. Shaw. "Accept my thanks for the copy of Mr. Adams's Inaugural Discourse. I have read it with great satisfaction and pleasure. It has strengthened the respect which I have ever entertained for that gentleman since I first had an opportunity of being acquainted with his distinguished merit." The discourse here mentioned, was spoken when John Q. Adams was installed the first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College.

July 28. From Samuel C. Thacher in London. "I am unwilling to suffer an opportunity to escape without making myself your creditor for a letter. I doubted when I left you whether it were possible to equal expectations so extravagant as mine were; but great as they were, London, I

confess, surpasses them. Not that there is a great deal of splendor immediately visible. I even think that Mount Vernon in Boston at first sight, impresses a stranger with an idea of greater magnificence, than any part of London of equal extent. But it is the prodigious variety of objects collected on one spot, from every quarter of the earth, that fills me with astonishment. Every sense is incessantly active, and as you pass Fleet street, where you remember the Doctor says is seen the full tide of human existence, you know what is meant by the toil of admiration. We both agree, however, that there is no single object to be compared in sublimity to St. Paul's. Its vastness is at first lost in the perfection of its proportions, notwithstanding it towers far above every thing near it and spreads itself over a surprising extent. I am not architect enough to tell you where are its defects, or what are the particular beauties from which the general effect results. It is a common objection, that its interior is too naked and destitute of decoration. I suspect, however, this to be an objection of one who judges by rule, more than by feeling. It is true, when you first enter the building, the eye finds nothing to repose on, and the light admitted is so dim and melancholy, that you scarcely see its boundaries, and seem walking under a canopy of almost immeasurable extent. As you enter, you take off your hat instinctively, and the echo of your footsteps from the marble pavement as you proceed is dull and solemn. One must indeed be heavy of head and cold of heart to enter St. Paul's for the first time

with only common emotions. It seems to me, however, that much of this effect would be lost, if there were anything on which the attention could repose; it might perhaps better bear criticism; but feeling is elder than criticism and above it. I had rather be deluded by imagination than frozen by taste.

"I have had the privilege of seeing several men of literature; such as Mr. Belsham, Dr. Rees, Mr. Tooke, the Aikin family, &c. Scarcely any man is so great as he appears to be on paper, and with several of the gentlemen I was at first disappointed. I was not induced to think, however, that their reputation was undeserved; and they indeed appear to *culminate* the longer they are viewed. I lately met a Mr. Duhurst, a gentlemen apparently of very extensive learning, who gave me some information you may value. Porson, it seems, has fallen into incurable indolence, and no hope is entertained of his proceeding farther with Euripides. There is, it seems, a manuscript of the Odyssey in the British Museum, which has never been collated, and which appears to contain some important scholia. Of these Wolfe in his last edition of Homer calls on Porson to give an edition; but without effect. He tells me also that it is not expected that Heyne will ever publish his Odyssey, from the persecution he has experienced from Wolfe and his followers. So much for the learned world. I am sorry your commission by the Galen has not yet arrived; but I am not without hope, that it may yet arrive before we depart for the Continent. Remember us at the club. Tell Mr. Gardiner, that his former master,

Mr. Beloe, the translator of Herodotus, has been recently dismissed from his office of curator of the British Museum. Remember me particularly and cordially to Dana, and take for yourself, my dear Shaw, an assurance of my sincere affection."

Aug. 24. From Mr. Shaw's mother to him. "There is nothing in this world, which lies nearer to my heart, or more deeply affects my mind, than the welfare of my two children, both here and hereafter. You judged rightly when you remarked, that you believed I should rejoice at your late appointment to office. For this unexpected favor you should be grateful to Him who has said, 'I will be a God to you and to your children.' The prayers offered and the blessings implored by your pious ancestors, may now be answered, in part, as to your success. Whoever sustains such promotion, is a servant of the people and responsible for its being equitably applied. Bad as the world is, it never requires the sacrifice of truth, justice and magnanimity for the attainment of its applause, but renders the practice of these virtues essential to secure its smile and support. But the approbation of others and emoluments of business are not all which constitute the enjoyment of social life. You will need a friend, to sympathize with you in the trials of your temporal course and rejoice with you in your happiness. Whenever your income allows, make no delay. Your lot has fallen among some of the loveliest of women. You must have imbibed a high idea of female excellence. Be circumspect. Let economy, industry, amiableness,

intelligence and virtue, be among the higher requisites, while beauty and fortune are but secondary objects. Believe me, my son, when I say, that there is no condition in life which may be so productive of genuine happiness, as that which our Lord instituted and sanctioned by his presence. Let your fancy be approved by sound judgment. Then you may find blessings twisted with your bonds. As I seldom say anything upon political affairs, you may think my letters very uninteresting. But when we consider the fatal effects of party virulence in the recent affair of Selfridge and Austin, we are shocked. We cannot be too much on our guard against political slander, malice and revenge. It is no evidence of a good cause, when such passions prevail."

Oct. 13. From Richard Peters, Jr., of Philadelphia. "At the request of my friend, Doctor Chapman, I some days since forwarded to you a number of his proposals for printing a work, in which I am persuaded you will take great interest, as its merits will fully reward its patrons. The work to which I allude is entitled 'Select Speeches,' etc. The first efforts of a man of singular literary attainments should be encouraged by all who love the cause of learning and talents, but when this effort is directed to so useful a purpose as this of our friend Chapman, the incitement to reward it, is much increased. It will be in your power to obtain a very extensive addition to the Doctor's list of subscribers, and his thanks will be sincerely tendered to you."

Oct. 25. Benjamin Vaughan at Hallowell to

Stephen Higginson. "Mr. Shaw having applied to my son for the loan of some books to be put into a reading-room, and the benevolence of both your characters inducing me to believe that you are acquainted with that gentleman; I take the liberty to give you the following information. All our duplicates and triplicates are already lent, and in this retired situation, we find it convenient to retain the remainder. When in London, in 1785, we lent several hundred books to the London library on Ludgate Hill. We have received a part of them, and the rest continue there."

Oct. 30. The Anthology Society transfer their library and the control of their room to five trustees. The names of these were, William Emerson, John T. Kirkland, Peter O. Thacher, William S. Shaw and Arthur M. Walter. Among their designated duties was to "obtain subscriptions, donations and deposits." So indefatigable was Mr. Shaw in the continued performance of such onerous service, that he was generally called "Athenæum Shaw."

Nov. 8. Rev. John Eliot notifies Mr. Shaw that he is elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Nov. 19. Mrs. Murray, whose husband was a clergyman, writes to Mr. Shaw and other conductors of the Anthology, that she wishes their work to notice a publication of hers, called the Gleaner.

Dec. 1. Mr. Shaw's letter to Joseph S. Buckminster. "I know you will be delighted to hear of the progress we have made in the reading-room and library, which has much surpassed the expecta-

tion of even the most sanguine of us. We have one hundred and sixty subscribers, at ten dollars a year, consisting of the most respectable gentlemen in Boston, with the probability of having two hundred subscribers, at least, the moment the rooms are opened. We have taken rooms in Congress street, in what are called Joy's Buildings, which we shall occupy till the spring, when we expect to be able to procure more commodious rooms. We have had nearly a thousand volumes of valuable books presented to us, and one hundred and sixty dollars in cash. The institution is a very popular one, and there is a strong inclination discovered to patronize it on a very extensive plan; and I have very little doubt, that in a few years we shall see a library in our beloved Boston inferior to none in America. If we do not, it will be owing altogether to a want of exertion on the part of our literary men, whose duty it is to awake from their stupid lethargy, and to rescue our country from the scorn and derision which now lie so heavily upon her.

"We propose that the whole property of the institution shall be vested in a number of trustees, not exceeding eleven, seven of whom to be chosen from the Anthology Society, the remaining four to be gentlemen out of the Society; the trustees so chosen to have the sole and exclusive management of the institution. Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Emerson, Peter O. Thacher, Walter and myself, are chosen from the Anthology Society, and we intend to choose your honor to be one the moment you come home. Chief Justice Parsons, Mr. John Lowell, and Mr.

Freeman we have also chosen, none of whom have yet made known their acceptance but Mr. Parsons, who very readily complied with our request, much to the joy of us all. As soon as the trustees can be called together, they are to choose a President, Vice President, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer, &c. &c. Mr. Parsons is to be chosen President, Walter will probably be chosen Corresponding Secretary, and your humble servant, Recorder.

"In drawing up the regulations, we have followed very closely the laws of the Athenæum of Liverpool, for which I am greatly indebted to your kindness in transmitting immediately on your arrival at Liverpool. It is an admirable institution, and we intend to make ours as much like that as the different circumstances of the two countries will admit. I pray you to make it an object to collect as much information as will be in your power respecting all literary societies, catalogues of their libraries, their laws, &c. &c. They will be pleasant to have in our reading-room, at least, and thus may be made useful in America, to stimulate our countrymen to some important mental exertions. I wish you could be prevailed upon to avail yourself of the advantages your residence in London this winter will afford you, to collect information relative to the literature of England, its colleges, schools, scientific institutions, literary men, &c. &c., and publish a series of papers in our dearly cherished 'Anthology' on the present state of English literature, which I am very certain would be novel,

interesting, and useful to the people of this country. Write a series of letters from England to us in America, as Laharpe wrote from Paris to the Emperor Paul the First, of Russia. He was engaged in a correspondence with the emperor for five years, which, since Laharpe's death, have been published in four volumes. He sent to the young prince all the literary and political news of Paris, and judged of men and books with all the freedom which a literary correspondence admits. The work is wonderfully interesting. It will be read by men of letters and men of fashion. The first will find much correct criticism; the second, pleasant anecdote, and all variety, which you know is always charming.

"I inclose to you with this a bill of exchange, payable to you, and drawn upon Samuel Williams, Esq., for six hundred dollars,—five hundred of which are to be expended in procuring books for the reading-room, and to be sent out as early in the spring as possible. The intention of the trustees is to appropriate the money arising from subscriptions as follows:—After the necessary expenses of the institution are paid, the first object will be to provide for the rooms all the celebrated gazettes published in any part of the United States; the most interesting literary and political pamphlets in Europe and America; magazines, reviews, and scientific journals in the English and French languages; London and Paris newspapers; Steele's Army and Navy List, Naval Chronicle, London and Paris booksellers' catalogues, Parliamentary

debates, bibliographical works, voyages, travels and valuable maps and charts. The gazettes and pamphlets of our own country we can, of course, procure without troubling you; but we wish you to take such measures as will ensure to us the early transmission of all interesting pamphlets published in England on important subjects,—the average amount for the year not to exceed three dollars per month; that is, we are willing to appropriate thirty-six dollars a year of our funds for English pamphlets, including booksellers' catalogues. If your friends, Mr. Samuel and Francis Williams, could be persuaded to undertake this commission after you leave England, they would be the best men in the world for this purpose. At any rate, we can depend on your selecting some person of judgment in whom we may confide, for the punctual discharge of this part of our engagement to supply the room with English pamphlets.

"English magazines, reviews, &c. These publications we have thought it most expedient to procure, for the present at least, through the agency of Mr. William Skinner, an English gentleman connected with a house in London, whose card I inclose to you, and would wish you to call upon them and converse with them on the objects of the institution, and urge upon them the necessity of most punctual communication. I inclose to you a list of all the publications we have ordered from England, with a request that you would order any others you should think proper. We wish particularly for Dr. Aikin's new magazine, the Athe-

næum, Arthur Aikin's Annual Review, to be sent out in numbers, beginning with the first number of the fifth volume, and indeed for all the distinguished periodical journals in England. If you think, therefore, that we have not ordered a sufficient number, you are at perfect liberty to make any additions you please. You will observe, that we have only sent for three newspapers,—the Morning Chronicle, the Courier, and Bell's Weekly Messenger,—which are as many as we thought our funds would allow of at present. If you think we ought to have one more, you may direct it to be sent to us. To collect valuable maps and charts is one of the prime objects of the institution, and ought to be immediately attended to. You will therefore appropriate a part of the money sent you with this (say, perhaps, one hundred dollars) to the purchasing of two or three good atlases of standard reputation.

"After having furnished the room with newspapers, magazines, maps and charts, &c. &c., as above mentioned, the second object of the trustees will be to supply the library with the most valuable encyclopædias of the arts and sciences in the French and English languages, with standard dictionaries of the learned and modern languages; also dictionaries, critical, biographical, &c., and books of general reference, useful to the merchant and scholar. We have already procured the American edition of Rees's Encyclopædia, as far as it has been published. We have also had presented to us a superb edition of Dr. Aikin's Johnson's Dictionary, in four large octavo volumes, by my friend Joseph

Tilden. Books printed on the continent we can probably purchase cheaper by sending to Paris and Holland, than you could be able to procure them in London. I should not, therefore, advise you to purchase books of this kind; but of this you will be a much better judge than myself. I merely mention it by way of suggestion, leaving it entirely to your discretion. Some of the money, I should think, ought to be appropriated to purchase standard works upon commerce and books of useful reference to the merchants, as most of our subscribers are of this class. Mr. Samuel Williams could recommend to you some books of this kind. There is a work on this subject reviewed in the sixteenth number of the Edinburgh Review, entitled, I believe, Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce,' which I should think we ought to have. You ought to send us out, also, some miscellaneous books, useful to the loungers,—such, perhaps, as a complete edition of the English classics, such as the Spectator, Guardian, &c., with Drake's Essays on these periodical writers, &c. &c. The books you purchase must be all good editions, printed on good paper, and well bound; but take care not to be too extravagant.

"I have thus, my dear Buckminster, detailed to you the objects to which we conceive the income of our institution ought for the present to be appropriated, and, with this information, send the five hundred dollars to you to procure such books for the institution as your judgment shall dictate, with an entire confidence that the money will be appropriated in such

a manner as will advance the interests and extend the patronage of the establishment, which I am very sensible you have much at heart. All the newspapers and literary publications, which we procure through the kindness of Mr. Skinner, we expect to pay for here, and have made our arrangements accordingly.

"You must be very sensible, that the success of an institution like ours will depend very much on the punctuality and despatch with which we receive our foreign newspapers, pamphlets, new books and periodical publications. I cannot urge upon you, therefore, too strongly the necessity of adopting such measures, before you embark for this country, as will best secure to us these great objects. I would beg leave to suggest to you the expediency of selecting a confidential bookseller in London; promise that we will purchase all our books of him; let him supply us with all our newspapers, magazines, &c.,—in short, every thing we shall want from England; tell him that our institution promises to be a permanent one, that we shall probably send to England from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars per year, to be expended in books. With such inducements, I should think some one might be persuaded to make considerable exertion to comply with our requisitions. If you should adopt any plan of this kind, you must give information to Skinner's house, in London.

"I send you one hundred dollars, on my own account, with which I wish you to procure for me the best edition of Shakspeare's Plays, with

all the prefaces, notes, commentaries, &c. &c., which I suppose to be Reed's; Dr. Aikin's edition of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, in four volumes, octavo, both to be well bound in calf; Dibdin's Bibliographical works; and if these should not amount to one hundred dollars, any other books you may please to procure for me. Alas! I have no more time to write at present. Remember me most affectionately to Mr. Thacher. Consult him about the reading-room."

Dec. 13. William S. Shaw to J. S. Buckminster. "I wrote to you by the Galen a long letter, and inclosed to you a bill of exchange drawn upon Samuel Williams, Esquire, for six hundred dollars, which letter I presume you have received. It ought to be a considerable object, I should think, in the purchase of books for our library, to procure such valuable works as are least common in this town and most difficult to be procured in this country. The publications relative to the literary fund in England I have never seen in this country, and, if they have any merit, I think you had best procure them. . . . . Rare books relative to the history of this country, or the West India Islands, &c. &c., ought to be obtained. The publications of literary associations of eminence in Great Britain we ought to procure. Perhaps such letters might be addressed to the societies as would induce them to present copies of their publications to our institution; but of this you are the better judge. I send you, inclosed with this, ten copies of our prospectus, that you may distribute them in a man-

ner most likely to promote the great objects of our institution. In my last, I suggested to you the expediency of selecting some bookseller in London who would undertake to supply us with every thing we wanted, and who would be responsible for the punctual and early transmission of all our newspapers and literary publications. This is a very great object, and the prosperity and advancement of the institution depend very much on the success of our exertions in this particular. I would further suggest, whether it would not be possible to make some arrangements with the Athenæum and Lyceum in Liverpool, that would operate beneficially to our establishment. The librarians of those institutions might possibly be induced to send us some of the numerous publications which they receive. I have frequently seen, in this town, at our printing offices, English newspapers, with the name of 'Athenæum' stamped upon them, and which, I have understood, came from that institution. These institutions must receive a number of newspapers, magazines, &c. &c., and often duplicates, which they do not care to preserve, and would be willing to send to us at a very low price; also political pamphlets.

"I think you might also advance the interests of our establishment by conversing with the Americans, particularly the Bostonians, in England, on the utility and the pleasure which will probably be afforded by an institution on our plan. In my exertions here, I have generally succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations in obtaining subscrip-

tions, and donations in books as well as money. The plan is a very popular one, and almost every one is desirous of doing something to promote its objects. If you choose to exercise the influence which I know you must possess over your American acquaintances in England,—and I think it is your duty to do it,—I have no doubt but that you might obtain some very valuable donations to the library. I should advise you to give one of our pamphlets to every generous American, with some observation which may induce him to make some exertion to promote the interests of the establishment.

"There are many Englishmen, such as Sir John Sinclair, &c., who are pleased to take a very lively interest in every thing relating to American affairs, and who, I have no doubt, would be very much delighted in promoting the objects of our establishment. These gentlemen might be very useful in influencing the learned societies to make donations of their publications. I should also think it very proper to establish a correspondence with some learned men in England, to whom we might be permitted to write in behalf of the institution, and who might be the means of our procuring rare, valuable works, out of print, which we could not otherwise obtain. Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, here, has recommended us to his brother William, and has promised to give us letters to him. In my former letter, I requested you to procure some books of reputation for the merchants. In addition, I would suggest to you the propriety of purchasing Oddy's 'European Commerce,' reviewed in the

Monthly Review for August last. I send you, with this, a second bill of exchange, drawn upon Samuel Williams, Esq., for six hundred dollars; five hundred to be laid out in books for the reading-room, as I wrote in my former letter, and one hundred on my own account. . . . .

"The gentlemen of the Anthology Society desire to be particularly remembered to you and our friend Thacher. We meet now in Congress street, under the same roof with the reading-room; and Cooper, who is to keep the library, provides for us. Our subscribers gradually increase, and the publication seems to be rising in reputation. The booksellers and printers begin to think us of some consequence, and send us most of their publications. We frequently, and with much sincerity, wish our good friends in Europe pleasure and improvement from their travels. We often regret we have not been favored with some communications for the Anthology, but anticipate with pleasure the time when they will come *en masse*. Mr. Thacher must not fail to fulfil his promise, and we expect a whole budget in the spring. Phillips, in London, has sent us an answer to the letter which we wrote to him last spring, thanking us for the numbers of the Anthology which we sent him, speaking in a very flattering manner of the publication, and saying that he should be very happy to interchange with us; but he has as yet sent us none of his numbers. If it is not too much trouble, I wish either you or Thacher would call upon him, and converse with him on the subject. I should think it would be

worth while to make the same attempt of an interchange with other periodical publications in London. I also wish that one of you would cause the plan of our institution to be published in the Monthly Magazine, and perhaps some other publications, with such observations as you may think proper. Professors M'Kean and Willard are on nomination for members of our Society. You have already heard of Dr. Kirkland's being a member; we find him very pleasant as a sociable man. We have now completed our third volume, and we flatter ourselves that the last is very much the best. We commence the new year with a firm determination to persevere; and we flatter ourselves that, with our own exertions, and with such foreign aid as we may procure, we shall be able to make the publication still more valuable."

Dec. 27. Miss Hannah Adams writes and thanks Mr. Shaw for his suggestions relative to the question between her and Dr. Morse about their Histories of New England. After requesting his assistance in several particulars, she closes, "I have already been so much indebted to your kindness, that I will not apologize for the trouble I give you."

CHAPTER XI.

Regulations — Meteors — Memento of Friendship — Condolence — Burr's Conspiracy—Webster's Dictionary—Griesbach—Political Suspicion—Fouché—Catholics of Italy—Encouraging Prospect of the Athenæum—Burr's Trial—Currency—Criticism—Decrees—Division of the Union—Factions.

1807, January 1. As secretary of the trustees of the Anthology Reading-Room and Library, Mr. Shaw issues their printed rules, with a list of periodical publications which had been ordered. The preface of the document states, that they had obtained more than 160 subscribers; had over 1,000 volumes of valuable works in the Institution, which were in Joy's Buildings in Congress street, until they could get better accommodations. He says, that their design is to make such a collection the basis of an establishment in Boston, "similar to the Athenæum and Lyceum of Liverpool in Great Britain." The circular closes by inviting gentlemen disposed to become subscribers, to leave notice thereof at the reading-room, or at Mr. Shaw's office in Scollay's Buildings. Here was the hopeful germ of the Boston Athenæum, for whose interests Mr. Shaw tasked his energies and liberally spent his time and money. With respect to this fact, his biographer, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, makes the subsequent observation. "He was also the first to suggest, and

was principally active in the making that library public, and connecting it with a public reading-room, which was the direct and earliest efficient step towards the establishment of the Boston Athenæum."

Jan. 2. Benjamin Silliman at Yale College writes respecting the residuums of two meteors. "I send you by this mail a sheet, which I presume will not be unacceptable to you. I will send you, when we get it ready, a revised account for your Anthology, and a specimen of the stone by the first proper conveyance. The account which is now transmitted was drawn up in some haste, and it is very possible that new facts may come to light. Since we wrote, another stone, which was heard to fall on Tathoway Hill, and for which we searched in vain, has been discovered and weighs thirty-six and a half pounds. We have a fair prospect of obtaining it for our cabinet."

The substance of this meteoric body was found to be iron. It being supposed to be the first specimen of the kind discovered and examined in the United States, it excited the attention of scientific men as an extraordinary event for our country.

Jan. 14. The subsequent lines are a touching expression of friendship. "The brothers of your deceased friend, A. M. Walter, ask your acceptance of his gold watch as a mark of his esteem and as a continual proof of the friendship which subsisted between you. They also carry into effect his wish of October 4, 1802, as expressed in his letter on going to Europe, thus: 'If the Supreme Being

should take me from among the children of men, I request that my Tully should be presented to William S. Shaw, for I love him.' You, therefore, have this also, with their united wishes for your future welfare."

Feb. 5. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "I received some days since your favor of the 19th January, and thank you for the information it contains, and for the trouble you have taken in my individual concerns. I should have been happy to hear *frequently* from you, but I have been sensible that the multiplicity of your usual occupations and the extraordinary call upon your time and attention by the illness and decease of your excellent and lamented friend Walter, were amply sufficient to justify your silence. I have continued to enclose to you all the public documents; though having also sent a copy of them to my father, I may sometimes have sent a double set to him and none to you. This may be easily rectified by yourself, on examining the papers received at Quincy." He remarks, that he concludes to resume his residence in Boston, which began in 1790. "I have observed by the Boston papers that the reading-room has been opened, and I hope that the subscribers, and you who have taken so much interest in the establishment, have found it as useful and satisfactory as you have anticipated.

"Mr. Burr and his conspiracy have made so much noise, and filled all the newspapers throughout the Union to such an extent, that I imagine I can tell you nothing new concerning it. His ac-

complices. Bollman and Swartwout, are imprisoned here upon a charge of treason. But it appears that they cannot be tried here, and there is a great doubt whether they can be convicted of treason anywhere.

"There is an application before Congress from the corporation of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal company, requesting that a quantity of the public lands (about two hundred thousand acres) be appropriated to purchase shares for the public in that company. Mr. Bayard has just closed an eloquent speech in favor of the measure. Mr. Giles has just risen in answer to him. I doubt whether the measure will or ought to pass. The supreme court are in session. We have passed a bill in Senate to add a seventh circuit, consisting of the three Western States, to the courts of the United States, and for the appointment of an additional judge of the supreme court. It is now before the House of Representatives."

Feb. 10. From Josiah Quincy in Congress. "I condole with you, my friend, in your loss. It is a public one. Such men as your Walter[1] was, are rare at any period of society and in any country. His morals, his learning, his good heart and sound head, are assemblages seldom made by nature; and less common is it to find them progressing by such temperate and regular course toward maturity at such an early age as we witnessed in him. I know not whether these reflections will offer any consolation to your mind. But the qualities of our friends

[1] Arthur Maynard Walter died in Boston, January 2d, 1807, in his 26th year.

are precious sources of delight, although they quicken our sense of bereavement."

Feb. 14. From the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner. "I return you Mr. Sargent's[1] manuscript with many thanks. I have received much pleasure from its perusal, and am happy to find a young man of genius turning his attention to ancient literature. The versification is remarkably smooth and pleasing." The Latin poetry, here referred to, was published in the Monthly Anthology of March, 1807.

Feb. 16. By a letter with regard to Mr. Shaw's requesting John Lowell to furnish another of his "Letters from Europe" for the Monthly Anthology, it appears that the latter gentleman was the author of these intelligent and interesting communications.

Feb. 22. From J. S. Buckminster in London. "O, my dear friend. My heart is full of anguish. Walter dead! When I left you all to come to Europe, the parting was painful in the extreme, but continually relieved by the belief, that I should see you all again. I suspect the last letter he ever wrote was addressed to me. Alas! I cannot read it without tears. My dear Shaw, I wish I was with you, to give vent to my sorrow. I look to the great promises and expectations which the gospel holds out." The letter proceeds to an account of books, which Mr. Buckminster purchased abroad for the Boston Athenæum.

Feb. 25. In a circular to Mr. Shaw, relative to his purpose of publishing his great Dictionary, Noah Webster describes the occasion of such an

[1] Lucius M. Sargent.

undertaking. "When I first contemplated the publication of an English Dictionary, my design was chiefly limited to the correction of a few palpable errors in orthography and definition, and the insertion of a great number of legitimate words and significations, not found in any British work of the kind. Being led gradually and almost insensibly, to investigate the origin of our own language, I was surprised to discover that this field of inquiry had never been explored with due attention and success." This discovery led him to do what he could to supply such a deficiency. On such an enterprise he had been sedulously employed eight or ten years. But the expense of books and a numerous family, exceeding his income, he has been induced to ask for assistance in the prosecution of his Dictionary to a completion,—either by encouraging the sale of his school books or by pecuniary contributions. However that was a dark season for the American lexicographer, he was sustained in his trials and enabled to finish the volumes, which will ever reflect honor on his genius, learning, fortitude, industry and philanthropy, as well as on the country of his birth and education.

March 10. "In giving a list of volumes which he had bought on account of the Boston Athenæum, Mr. Buckminster, in London, makes the following remarks. "Tell my theological friends that the second volume of Griesbach has appeared, and I have taken care that the Duke of Grafton be reminded, that he had the goodness to present a large paper copy of the first volume to the University at

Cambridge. I hope they will receive the second in the course of the summer. I shall have a notice of your institution inserted in the Athenæum, but it will not excite any interest, reading-rooms and public libraries being so common in every part of Great Britain and Ireland."

March 25. Partaking largely of the zeal, which a great portion of the federal party manifested at this period, Mr. Shaw was actively engaged for the promotion of their purpose. As the secretary of the central committee, he came into possession of various papers, which show the efforts then made to break down the power of the democrats, whom their political opponents dreaded as entertaining designs for the subversion of our national liberties. A similar suspicion was also entertained by the former as well as by the latter party. Ever since, a like suspicion has been entertained of each other, by the principal political parties of our country, though gradually diminished as they have successively come into power and have shown themselves indisposed to destroy the constitution, though occasionally charged with violating some of its implied principles.

March 26. From Samuel C. Thacher in London. He speaks of his promise to write on the literature of France: "I rejoice once more to breathe the air of a country, in which my thoughts are no longer in chains, and I can write without fear that my letter may be first submitted to the criticism of Fouché, a merciless censor. You must content yourself, however, with only a few rambling and hasty

observations, and I shall claim the privileges of a letter-writer and traveler as an apology for errors or negligence." Then follow his interesting remarks on the subject, which were printed in the Anthology.

April 3. From J. S. Buckminster in London. After giving an account of books he had purchased for the Boston Athenæum, he observes: "We must, at least for some time, think of popularity; and I know of no method so likely to procure it, as to keep our rooms furnished with abundance of magazines, pamphlets and new books. This I am satisfied should be, at present, our primary object,—and our second, to lay slowly and secretly the foundation of a permanent library of books, difficult to be procured in America."

April 7. The Corporation of the Boston Athenæum, having been so constituted by an act of the Legislature, the preceding February 13, hold their first session at the office of Mr. Shaw. Here a committee are chosen to prepare "a memoir in behalf" of the Institution. This able document was written by John T. Kirkland, and accepted the 21st of the same month. The author of this document, John Lowell and Mr. Shaw were appointed to circulate it and obtain subscriptions. On the 8th of May, they signed a letter to accompany it wherever left or sent. The memoir was signed by Theophilus Parsons as president, and Mr. Shaw as secretary. As usual, the latter was active and successful in obtaining subscribers.

May 4. As one of the letters from Europe, on Italy, and published in the Anthology, described

the corruptions of the Catholics there, in dark lines, it appears to have occasioned the passing of explanations between the author, Mr. Shaw and Bishop Cheverus. A letter from the last follows.

"No man is more averse to controversy than I am myself, and I would really be sorry to find in your monthly publication nothing but a bunch of controversial thorns and nettles, instead of a fragrant nosegay of literary flowers, which the title promises and the contents generally afford. I think, however, I must say a few words about your note, but I do not request you should publish them. They are only addressed to you and to the American traveler, at whose request you published the reflections contained in your note.

"To know the doctrine of our church, the books which she approves must be quoted. I know that the British Encyclopædia and many other works pass condemnation against us. But I appeal from their judgment to your own candor, if you will but examine my witnesses. Two of them I take the liberty to send. Examine and cross-examine them, if you have leisure and patience.

"I did not boast of our moderation *here;* this *certainly* would be ridiculous. I acknowledged with gratitude the liberality we have experienced in Boston. I spoke of Maryland, where *certainly* Lord Baltimore and his Roman Catholic friends had the authority in their hands.

"I sincerely believe whatever our church has decided as an article of faith; how far this extends, Bossuet's exposition will inform you. As a Catholic,

I am not obliged either to believe or to defend any thing farther.

"I beg of you, sir, and of the American traveler, to receive my thanks for the very polite, though in regard to myself, very undeserved, manner in which you speak of my venerable colleague and myself."

May 5. Mr. Shaw having made collections to defray charges of Joseph S. Buckminster, while in Europe for his health, accompanied by Samuel C. Thacher, pays them over to Theodore Lyman.

May 13. William S. Shaw to J. S. Buckminster. "From the pamphlets which I send to you with this, of which you have several for distribution as you think proper, you will see that the trustees of the Anthology Reading-Room and Library have obtained an act of incorporation by the name of 'The Proprietors of the Boston Athenæum.' I doubt very much whether there ever has been an institution in this country, which has made such rapid advances as ours; and I can now congratulate you on the prospect of having a library in this town,—which you always seemed to believe was only a delusion of my idle brain,—on a liberal plan, highly honorable to the munificence of our citizens, and which will assist and facilitate the researches of the learned and gratify the curiosity of strangers. This, with me, I can assure you, is no ordinary subject of congratulation. Depend upon it, that the establishment of the Athenæum, the rooms of which are to be always accessible at all hours of the day, is one of the greatest strides toward intellectual advancement that this country has ever witnessed. We have

every reason to believe that the hundred and fifty shares will be taken up, which, at three hundred dollars a share, will give us forty-five thousand dollars. We already have fifty shares subscribed for, and there are about thirty gentlemen beside, who have promised to subscribe. We shall not trouble ourselves for life-subscribers till the permanent shares are taken up, which I undertake to say will be the case in the course of three weeks, at least, and perhaps in less time.

"You did very right to send us the Oxford Review, though I do not think much of the numbers I have read. As our funds are very much increased, we can now afford to take all the English literary magazines of any eminence, and you are at liberty to add any to the list you please. What merit has the Panorama, a new publication I see advertised? We are perfectly satisfied with the arrangements made in London with Jenner, for the periodical publications. They come out as regularly as we could expect to receive them from London; but we wish that there might be some arrangement in Liverpool, so that no vessel should sail for Boston without some papers for us. Could you not make some agreement with the Athenæum, Lyceum, or Union Society, to send out some papers, different from those we already have, at half-price? You must not send us out any books on credit. Remember me, with all possible affection, to dear Thacher."

May 25. From John Tabb, in Norfolk, Va. "That I should not have sent you before this, the

pamphlet written by Mr. Evans, under the signature of Tacitus, has proceeded from my particular situation since I had the pleasure of seeing you last summer in Boston, and not from any forgetfulness of you. I have been much tried at the termination of your Northern elections in general, especially in New York, where men of the greatest talents and character have been outvoted."

June 6. From J. S. Buckminster in London. "I cannot forbear my advice about your proposed edifice. Do not build any unless you can raise money enough to erect an elegant, classical building, entirely of stone, or with a stone facade, which shall reflect lasting credit on the taste and munificence of the founders. Before you build, I hope you will obtain from England and the continent, drawings, plans and views of several structures of the kind proposed. Loammi Baldwin, who I understand has just arrived, would send from Paris, if not from London, plans worthy of your attention. I will venture to speak to him upon the subject." He regretted that Webster's Dictionary, and Marshall's Life of Washington, had not been reviewed in the Anthology. He suggested that an invitation be extended to Mr. Holmes, the American Annalist, to review the latter work.

June 16. J. Tabb of Norfolk closes another letter with the passage, "Burr's trial affords us much conversation in Virginia. The arrival of General Wilkinson, a few days since, is expected to afford the prosecutors of the former, sufficient evidence to

convict him of treason. But I do not think so myself."

June 17. J. S. Buckminster writes from Liverpool, that on his visit to Scotland he found that the Panoplist, published in Boston, "was well known to all the Kirk" of that kingdom.

June 18. The committee for circulating the Memoir for the Athenæum, report to the directors at the office of Mr. Shaw, that they had obtained one hundred and fifty subscribers at $300 each, making a total of $45,000, the amount purposed to be raised.

July 17. The proprietors of the Athenæum, convened at the hall of the Massachusetts Bank, vote to expend $25,000 of their funds in the purchase of land and the erection of a building. In this advance, Mr. Shaw was much gratified. But a change in public affairs brought him equal disappointment, though not unduly disheartened. The next August 22, the trustees, in view of national difficulties, vote that it is inexpedient to increase the number of proprietors, and October 2, that the purpose for building be suspended.

August 4. A letter from S. Blodgett in Washington to a friend of Mr. Shaw, with whom it was left for a particular object, affords a few noticeable facts. It speaks of Mr. Tracy, member of Congress, as having died, and being the first of that body who had been buried there. It mentions, that contributions are being made to have a monument placed over his remains. It refers to the executive officers of the general government as having given much attention, since "the affair of the Chesapeake,"

to Fulton's torpedos, for blowing up the British frigates in case of war.

August. From James Martin, Jr., at Chapel Hill. A reason for which it is given, is to show the difficulty of sending money from that section of our country. "Inclosed is the amount of the Anthology for the present year. It was probably expected that this would have been done before now, but the difficulty of obtaining a currency that would be negotiable in Boston has been the cause. Indeed the present is transmitted as an experiment. The bills you will perceive are on the private bank of Cape Fear, our State having no public one."

Oct. 9. From Lucas George, Professor of Greek and Belles Lettres in St. Mary's College. "Although unacquainted, I take the liberty of addressing you. You have, in a former number of your useful work, been pleased to speak of me in terms highly grateful to my feelings. I allude to your critique on Davis's American Travels, a production in which I appear to some disadvantage. I have been traduced and abused in the Edinburgh Review, and although I had nothing to do with the Travels of Mr. Davis, yet I had the misfortune of being blended with him in their undiscriminating censure. You, on the contrary, had the generosity to elucidate my character in a more candid manner; a proof at once of your justice and of your honor; honor, which is but a mere phantom with many, but has a real existence in generous minds."

Oct. 17. From John Q. Adams in New York, on his way to Washington. This we notice, as contain-

ing an account of his passage in a packet from Providence to New York in *five* days. It was pleasant weather, but accompanied with calm and head winds. The contrast between that passage and one now made in a steamer, is great.

Oct. 27. An extract follows from a letter of F. A. Vanderkemp at Olden Barneveld. He sent other communications of learned criticisms for the Anthology. "As I have not, for a long while, troubled your repose with a single line, I hope you will make my apology for this new intrusion, while you contribute so often to spread a joyful beam on the evening of my solitary days, in my deep retreat in these western woods."

Oct. 27. From D. N. Chapman in Philadelphia. "A week or two ago, I directed my bookseller to send you a copy of the Select Speeches for the Anthology Club. The remaining volumes are now in press. They will contain speeches of some honesty, and certainly not of less merit. They will embrace the whole of Burke's, some I suspect that are unknown in this country, many of Lord Chatham's and his cotemporaries, and a very large number of Irish eloquence. Indeed I do believe, that I shall not omit any one speech of real value. There is, however, a speech of the younger Littleton, on the Canada bill, which has hitherto eluded my search. Dennie, who is now at my elbow, tells me that he thinks it is in the library of your college. Will you do me the favor to ascertain the fact?"

Nov. 7. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "We had yesterday one of the severest snow storms

that I ever witnessed at this place. The snow fell from nine inches to a foot deep, with the wind all the time at the northwest. It begins already to disappear; this day being perfectly clear. Little business has yet been done, but we have several important propositions made. Among them is one for an amendment to the constitution to make judicial offices tenable for a term of years, and judges removable by address of the two Houses."

Dec. 18. From the same. "I am much obliged to you for your attention to my personal affairs. Dr. Bullus, the messenger sent in the Revenge, arrived here yesterday, we understand, with dispatches from Mr. Armstrong. Their substance has not yet been communicated to Congress; but the rumor is, that it contains notification, that the French decree of November, 1806, will henceforth be rigorously executed against us, as well as others. We learn that the English have issued their counterpart. Between the two, our prospect is not bright."

Dec. 19. From R. H. Gardiner, in Gardiner, Me. "Your friends here desire me to tell you, that they are glad the Anthology shines so much of late in the poetical department. I have nearly completed a review of Belknap's History of New Hampshire, which I shall forward by the first private opportunity. I have not yet heard what was the success of Mr. Ogilvie's oration on the Athenæum, nor how your institution goes on in its new building."

Dec. 19. From E. J. Kendall at Northampton, who was on his travels in America, which he afterwards had published. "I have long promised myself the

pleasure of writing to you, but have delayed it, in order to send you a communication for the Anthology, and which is still unprepared. Allow me to beg, that I may hear from you as soon as may be, by a letter addressed to me at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, Vermont. Do me the kindness to present my respects to Col. and Mr. Samuel Welles, and the other gentlemen with whom I had the gratification of an acquaintance in Boston. You have probably heard, that I have forfeited my word with you, in regard to the Dighton Rock. Be so good as to mention to Judge Davis, that I did myself the honor of writing to him by the post, from Maine."

Dec. 23. From Rev. Joshua Spaulding at Elizabethtown, N. J. "I am at this place getting a publication of the Divine Theory. On my way, I called at your office in order to obtain a certificate of copy-right; but you were not that day at home. I therefore have to request that you would enter in your office, the enclosed title-page of the work, and make me out a certificate, and enclose it to me at this place, by the mail. I will call upon you and pay the fee when I return home, which I expect to do in a few weeks. The work is nearly completed, excepting the first half-sheet, in which the certificate must be inserted."

1808, January 1. From Thomas Wiley, New York. "We have printed and published a History of Hugh Peters, written by Dr. Peters." He hopes that the Anthology will give it a favorable notice.

Jan. 25. From Wm. H. Sumner in Philadelphia on a journey. "We are in a strange situation here

as far as relates to politics. The mail arrives from Boston in the morning, and the whole town is agitated by some facts and a thousand reports. This agitation is soon quieted by the apprehension that the Southern mail, which arrives at noon, will bring something worse. We are, as it respects political information, in the same situation that the Pennsylvanians think they shall be in, in case of an attempt to divide the Union,—the seat of the war. As it respects the proceedings at the seat of government, however, there is a division of sentiment. As it respects those at the Eastward, there seems to be no division. The federalists here have adopted the democratic sentiment, that it is the wish of the Eastern States to divide the Union, and they were filled with dismay and apprehension when the Palladium and Repertory arrived shrouded in black. They think here—and when I say they, I do not mean every and any sort of a federalist who may be included by that comprehensive word—but such men as Charles W. Hare, Mr. Rawle, Bronson, editor of the Gazette United States, and Jackson of the Register, who are not suspected here of moderation even, as well as all the merchants I meet with, that the publications in the newspapers at the Eastward, the resigning of the collectors, the sailing of ships in defiance of the law, and the resolutions passed in those solemn town meetings, which are opened with a prayer, indicate something more than a wish to change the public sentiment. They say they do not care how far the opposition is carried, provided the federalists will come out with an

express resolution to support the Union of the States, and they think there would be a favorable change of sentiment in Pennsylvania, if our legislature should pass a resolution of this kind; but now the universal apprehension of a dissolution of the Union intimidates their hearts and paralyzes all their efforts. They want to gain the ascendency in this State before any attempt to effect this is made, so that, in case it should take place, they may join the 'Northern Kingdom.'"

Jan. 26. From the same writer. "Fine sleighing here to-day. You will see in the Monitor a garbled account of the proceedings in Congress on Thursday and Friday, and of the cool and determined attack of three of the Royal Cousins to fight Mr. Quincy down. I have seen a gentleman from Washington who was there. He says that he had prejudices against Mr. Quincy before; but on this occasion he behaved *nobly*, and gained in the opinion of all in the gallery, a complete triumph. Randolph was there and ready to support Quincy, but it was not necessary. Quincy declared he would not fight them *as they wished*, but he advised them to keep *their hands off of him*. He kept himself cool, and in his last speech of three quarters of an hour ridiculed all their attempts to put him down. Lyon rose to call them to order, and in the course of his remarks, G. W. Campbell said to him 'Sir, you have no spirit.' Lyon shook his fist at him and said, 'I have enough for you, sir.'"

March 25. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "I have long noticed the characters of the

factions which were excited among all the ancient nations in their relations with the Romans. It has been particularly remarked by Montesquieu, and its application to our own affairs is no new thing in my mind. Modern history is full of the same phenomenon. The English and French factions in Holland, were among the earliest occasions for my observations on living men. The hats and the caps of Sweden mark the same factions in human character. But there, as well as in Holland, the spirit of faction was envenomed by the distribution of *money* by both parties among the principal leaders. I hope nothing of this sort has occurred or will occur with us. We are at the fourth day of reading dispatches, with a message from the President containing all the documents of negotiation with France and with England for several years. Mr. Ross is gone; but Mr. Erskine remains here, and Mr. Pinckney has lately been re-appointed to England."

March 29. From Mr. Vanderkemp at Trenton, N. Y. He gave an account of a Society in which he was concerned, for promoting Scriptural knowledge. He stated, that they had offered premiums for the best dissertations on several subjects. One of these was, "What are the principal causes of the increasing fanaticism, enthusiasm and infidelity within the Middle and Eastern States." Mr. Vanderkemp remarked on the recent maratime decree of Judge Davis, and forwarded some extracts from a Dutch ordinance for his consideration.

March 31. From John Q. Adams. Speaking of a letter addressed to Mr. Otis, Mr. Adams thus

expresses himself: "I will thank you to give the enclosed manuscript to Oliver & Munroe, to be published immediately. If they do not choose to print it you may get any other printer to do it when you please. It is not meant for electioneering, but for self-defence; and to give the public my views of public affairs. The printers will give perhaps a few copies for the manuscript. I want only half a dozen. One of which I will thank you to present in my name to Mr. H. G. Otis, one to Governor Sullivan, and one to my father. The three others I will thank you to send to me as soon as possible, that they may reach this place before the adjournment of Congress. When I say that you may give it to the printers, I ought to add, that there must be no copy-right, and above all no puffing preface."

April 9. From Miss Hannah Adams at Dedham. "I hope you have received my Summary History of New England, and Truth and Excellence of the Christian Religion, which I sent for the Athenæum. When I come to Boston I intend to procure one of my Views of Religions and my Abridgments for the same purpose. I hope before this time you have been reimbursed for the money you advanced towards printing my Abridgment. I find by the Evangelical Magazine, my Abridgment has been printed in England. I have made considerable progress in my History of the Jews this winter, but at present am much out of health. If you would have the goodness to favor me with a line, you will add to the many favors you have conferred upon me."

CHAPTER XII.

Episcopacy — Liverpool Athenæum — Pomare, King of Otaheití — Embargo—French in Spain—Canandaigua—Toasts—Talleyrand's Memoir—Law Books—French and Italian Volumes—Reading-Room in New York—Spirit of '76—History of Printing—Kendall's Travels — Redwood Library — Constitution of the United States—Midnight Study.

April 20. From Charles King in New York. Having agreed to give a description of the Harrow school, he promises that it shall be done after he has heard from his former tutor in that institution. "Mr. Otis and party arrived here on Friday last, and have rendered our city very gay, though we have to regret, that the shortness of their intended residence among us, will only tend to illumine without warming its inhabitants. I am happy to find that you are at least a little better in politics than last year, and though your Governor has failed, his Lieutenant and Senate are of consequence. We are very sanguine here with regard to our election, which comes on shortly, with how much reason, I know not."

April 23. From John Q. Adams in Washington. "I have received your two letters of last week, with a dozen copies of my letter to Mr. Otis, and Mr. Gardiner's Fast sermon. I thank you most cordially for the promptitude with which you executed

the charge of publication. I find the federal newspapers of Boston, which began with a system of silence about my letter, have at last found their tongues. Of the use which their opponents make of this paper, I cannot be surprised. But if there be such a person as a candid and impartial federalist, (and I trust the great majority of them are such,) I ask him to say *who* is justly chargeable with my publication, and all its effects, whatever they may be. I had no party purpose, no electioneering views. But an attack so violent, and at such a time, and in such a manner, was a strong call upon me for notice. Yet I have most truly said that this alone, I would have overlooked. My motives were altogether of a public nature."

May 18. Rev. Samuel Miller, in New York, to Rev. Mr. Eliot of Boston, and deposited with Mr. Shaw. "In that letter I spoke of my interview with Mr. J. Q. Adams, who brought me a letter from you. He is a charming man. I wish much to enjoy the honor and pleasure of a more intimate acquaintance with him. Every succeeding session of Congress, and every increase of my knowledge of him, places him higher in my esteem. I hope you will never let him pass through New York without bringing me a letter from you. The Anthology for March I have just seen. The letter, to which the editors allude, I should have no doubt, without your information, came from Dr. Hobart. He is absolutely animated by a zeal on the subject of episcopacy, which may with propriety be called *fanatical.* The reviewers are severe; but if they

saw *the whole ground* as we see it, in this city, standing in the midst of the combatants, they would think themselves rather to have erred on the side of gentleness. I feel myself much flattered by the original review, and by the respectful manner in which I am treated in this note of the editors."

June 3. From the editors of the Medical Journal, of New York. They express their views of the duty which devolves on the conductors of periodical publications, as to care in using and crediting each other's articles.

August. Mr. Shaw, during this month, accompanied the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster on a journey to Kennebec, particularly for the health of the latter.

August 18. Edward Little, of Newburyport, states that he is concerned in editing Ashe's Travels, from the London edition; but that his copy has lost a few pages, and he should be much obliged to Mr. Shaw for another volume, so as to supply the deficiency.

Oct. 11. From N. Lawrence, in Boston, to Rev. William Shepherd at Gateacre, near Liverpool. "It is the intention of this letter to introduce to you, Mr. Shaw of this city, a gentleman to whom the town of Boston is indebted for the establishment of an institution, having the same object in view, as that which has reflected so much credit upon Liverpool.

"Owing to the unremitting exertions of Mr. Shaw, the Boston Athenæum, though in its infancy, already possesses a library which would, both for its size and selection, do credit to a much older

establishment; and the constant additions it is receiving, promise to place it in a very high rank among the literary institutions of America.

"The proprietors of the Boston Athenæum have a very considerable fund; part of which they propose to apply to the erection of a building for the reception of their books and newspapers. As the active patron of the establishment, Mr. Shaw is anxious for a correspondence with one of the leading supporters of the parent institution, and I am confident that you will feel pleasure in answering any inquiries he may propose with regard to the minor regulations of our Athenæum, and to point out to him the best means for securing a regular and early supply of English publications. Mr. Shaw instructs me to say, that on his part he shall be happy to communicate any literary information relative to America, which may be interesting to you.

"During the federal administration, Mr. Shaw held the situation of private secretary to the President of the United States."

Oct. 13. From Paul Allen in Providence, R. I. "Observing in the last number of the Panoplist, a letter purporting to be from the pen of Pomare, King of Otaheiti, I was induced to believe that the handwriting of that person might be a present acceptable to the proprietors of the Athenæum. Mr. Cushing, a gentleman of respectable character in this town, and the person to whom the letter from Pomare was addressed, favored me with the enclosed specimen of Pomare's handwriting. It was an invitation to Mr. Cushing to come on shore for the

purpose of receiving, as a present from His Majesty, the breast-plate of feathers which he wore on important occasions, and which he declared he would not part with to any other person for the price of ten roast hogs, that being the standard of estimation in that country."

Nov. 1. A letter from Parker Cleaveland in Brunswick, Me. It is about the recent establishment of a reading-room there, and the newspapers to be taken by its members.

Nov. 8. From J. Wagner of Baltimore. "Mr. Quincy was obliging enough to send me your favor of the 25th ult., as he passed through. I have ordered the North American to be sent to your address. Your flattering opinion of this publication is probably produced more by the abilities which others transfuse into it, than by any effort I am capable of making. In truth, the drudgery of a new establishment, and the minutiæ which the novelty of the thing and the want of the best assistance have forced upon me, do not leave me much time for study. Such as it is, I shall be happy to exchange with you for the Anthology, whose repute stands upon a much better foundation. We are not much of authors in Baltimore, and therefore very few pamphlets make their appearance. That the exchange may not be unequal, let us alternate, that you may have justice. I will begin by sending you Mr. Custis's pamphlet upon sheep."

Nov. 13. From Francis Blake of Worcester. "I am about publishing a pamphlet containing part of the arguments on the embargo question decided at

Salem, together with the judgment of the Court." Judge Davis had consented for him to have a copy. He was informed by his brother of Boston, that Mr. Pickering of Salem had intended to report it, but had relinquished the design. He desired Mr. Shaw to forward him a transcript. "The subject will lose its interest, unless it is soon brought before the public."

Dec. 5. From a gentleman in Cadiz. "The mistaken policy of Bonaparte in pouring his legions into Spain, and attempting to seat his brother on the throne, roused the people from the lethargy in which they had slumbered. It is impossible to conceive, without being on the spot, of the enthusiasm which animates every class. The detention of Ferdinand kindled the flame that was just ready to burst forth. At the same moment, the people of the most distant provinces, without any previous concert, rose up in arms. Since that period, they have been successful in every action." The writer remarked, that there were strong hopes that the Spaniards would successfully resist the attempts of Bonaparte. But experience proved the contrary.

Dec. 23. Introduction of Ogilvie, by Go. Kemble of New York, to Mr. Shaw. "By the present I have the pleasure of introducing to your acquaintance, the celebrated Mr. Ogilvie, whose great talents and acquirements entitle him to the esteem of every lover of polite literature. I do not pretend to apologize for taking this liberty, for should you receive but one-half the enjoyment in his company, which I am sure you will, you will return me thanks a

thousand fold. Mr. Ogilvie proposes to deliver some orations in Boston; your assistance may be of use to him; by rendering it, you will extremely oblige me."

Dec. 25. From William H. Sumner in Washington. "I have risen this morning with an intention of visiting Mount Vernon with Wells. While waiting for the carriage, I seize the moment to inform you of one fact, which has more the appearance of a continuation and enforcement of the present system of measures, than any which has preceded it, although no further evidence was necessary to convince any one here. A committee of the House agreed last night to report a bill authorizing the President to receive fifty thousand volunteers, to appoint five major generals, etc. They are determined to enforce the embargo at the point of the bayonet. The grand debate begins to-morrow on Giles's bill. I think Quincy will be great, from former specimens."

1809, January 19. From Rev. Henry Channing at Canandaigua. "I am now pleasantly situated with my little family. The distance from the few connections remaining of my name, is the only consideration which is unpleasant. There are, indeed, some circumstances in every situation not entirely consonant to our wishes. This is a mixed state. Infinite wisdom and goodness cannot err. Heaven fixes the bounds of our habitation, which we cannot pass.

"In this place, there is a great variety of character. There are several very respectable men of

your profession. There are also other men of information. The village is small, consisting of about one hundred houses; the town is twelve miles by six. The state of religion is by no means promising. I have been pained to find how readily people from New England part with even the forms of religion, when removed to other States. I have a small congregation, who hear me with attention and treat me very affectionately.

"The state of our country excites my most serious apprehensions. The debates in Congress are often distinguished by the worst of passions, and are calculated to excite the worst passions. Biting sarcasms and severe personalities, in my view, disgrace the chamber of a national legislature."

Jan. 24. Of this date are various toasts, given at a festival in honor of the Spanish patriots, by citizens of Boston, and preserved by Mr. Shaw. As indicative of sentiments, entertained by the federal party on political matters, a few of the toasts are selected.

"Our own Country. May it not prove too wide for *union;* too sordid for *patriotism;* nor too democratic for *liberty.*"

"The Patriotic Legislature of Massachusetts. In this time of peril, may they think 'nothing done while any thing remains undone,' to preserve the constitution and liberties of our country."

"The Constitution of the United States; as *now practiced upon:*

> 'A dream of what thou wast! a garish flag,
> To be the aim of every dangerous shot.
> A sign of dignity! a breath! a bubble!'"

Jan. 29. E. Bacon in Washington, to Mr. Shaw about Congressional documents. "The general object which you have in view in your collections for the Athenœum, is certainly both useful to the public and honorable to yourself. I will endeavor to furnish you with all I can obtain."

March 6. From William P. Farrand of Philadelphia. "I am desirous that you should have my Bacon noticed in the Anthology, at some length, and my premium editions also. I have put a great deal of extra expense on these publications. I informed you of one of the editors, that you might speak more confidently of the work."

March 9. At this time, Mr. Shaw was active in procuring an annuity for Miss Hannah Adams. A correspondent writes to him, that he is ready to become a life subscriber in such beneficence.

April 8. From William Plummer, of Epping, N. H. "As we are both engaged in making a collection of State papers, it has occurred to me that we may, with very little trouble, mutually assist each other, particularly in the collection of the journals and proceedings of the legislatures of Massachusetts and New Hampshire." A plan is accordingly proposed.

June 15. From G. J. E. Smissart in New York. "In the Monthly Anthology for April of this year, I find such an extensive extract of the Memoir of Talleyrand, "Sur les relationes commerciales des Etats Unis avec l'Angleterre," &c., which appears to have been reprinted in London in the French language, that it makes me suppose that one or more

copies of that interesting document may have been received in Boston by the editors of the above named periodical work. I was well acquainted with that memoir, having before I left Europe received a copy of it as a present, from the hand of the author. I lost it at the time of my shipwreck when coming to this country, and I am so desirous to replace that loss, that I take the liberty of addressing myself to you, requesting that I may be informed whether I can possibly obtain a copy of it *in French*, or if not, *in English*, no matter at what price; and when I judge your kind disposition to be such as willingly to be of service, where and whenever it is in your power, I think I feel authorized to ask of you this favor; the more so, as it gives me pleasure to find an opportunity at which I may express my readiness to be of service to you, whenever occasion may call for it."

June 15. From J. E. Hall of Baltimore. "Having observed your solicitude to collect articles of literary information, I take the liberty of sending a copy of the Preface to a work which I wrote some time ago. Many extracts have been published in the octavo volumes of the Portfolio, by my friend Mr. Dennie, from which you may collect an opinion of the work. As I cannot publish it without the aid of a subscription, I have little expectation of seeing it in print in this country. Still, however, I may derive some advantage from your assistance in Boston. If your publisher is *in that way of* business, you will have the goodness to give him one of the papers; when the book is published, he will

be allowed as many sets as he has subscribers, at a deduction of twenty per cent.

"You may also announce that John E. Hale, Esq., Attorney at Law, of Baltimore, has finished and will speedily publish a translation of the 'Praxis Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis Francisci Clerke, etc. Editio Quinta emendata, 1798.' It is a book in great estimation among lawyers; in fact it is the only one on the subject; the third edition bears date, 1722. Clerke was a Proctor in the court of Arches during the reign of Elizabeth. I shall add notes on our own practice, as derived from rules of court or acts of Congress."

About July. Mr. Shaw to Henry Higginson. "Several weeks previously to my receiving your letter of the 30th March, 1809, in which you so kindly volunteered your services to the Athenæum, at the request of Mr. Tyng I had done myself the honor to write a long letter, giving you a minutely detailed account of the progress of the institution, the objects it embraced, and the grounds on which our hopes were founded of its success. After the receipt of your letters of 30th March, 7th April, and 19th June, I felt much emboldened by your goodness, and ventured to write you two letters more on the same subject. These, as they were written at a period when the intercourse between the two countries was encumbered by too much regulation, and as you have never done me the honor to acknowledge the receipt of them, I fear have miscarried. Two of them, I think, were sent by the way of New York. In addition to the very particular

account which I gave you of the state of the institution at that period, I most gratefully acknowledged my high sense of your goodness in the proffer of your services, and of which I most gladly availed myself. I have now, my dear sir, to repeat and renew my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for your continued attention in sending the newspapers and magazines with so much punctuality and dispatch; of the perplexity and trouble of which, perhaps no man living can have a more perfect persuasion than myself. The conviction which you must and ought to possess, of having by your goodness and exertions, greatly contributed towards advancing the interest and prosperity of a literary institution in the dear town of Boston, and which promises great good to our country, may perhaps be some remuneration for your services; nothing short of this, I am persuaded, can be.

"The institution I flatter myself is gradually and most certainly gaining patrons and friends. Many have realized its pleasures and advantages, and would not part with them, as they have often told me, for three times the amount which they have paid. We are constantly receiving donations from our friends, at home and abroad; and whenever it may be deemed expedient, I have no doubt, with proper exertion, the funds of the institution may be greatly increased by additional sums from the present proprietors, and a grant obtained from the legislature, which, when it gave us our act of incorporation, gave to its members equal rights and privileges with the proprietors. These you may well suppose

I consider very great, and afford a powerful and rightful claim on the legislature for some remuneration and patronage. I do myself the honor to send, by the Galen, the only sheets of the catalogue which we have yet published. I hope, in a few weeks, to send you a complete copy. When you consider that it is only three years since the institution was organized, and that in value and number of books there are in the country but two libraries superior to ours, I hope you will not be disappointed in the progress we have made. In addition to the books included in the catalogue, we have nearly six thousand volumes belonging to John Q. Adams, which, when he left this country for St. Petersburgh, he kindly deposited in the institution, and the greater part of which will probably remain as long as we may wish for them.

"But after every possible exertion which can be made here, in the present state of science and literature in our country, the prosperity and success of an institution like the Athenæum very much depend on the facility and punctuality with which we procure the foreign political and literary journals, and especially the English. These I consider it very important to obtain, with the greatest possible dispatch, as they are most calculated to attract popular attention, and as the number of the annual subscribers depends in a great degree on the variety, the novelty and regularity with which we are able to furnish the rooms with this species of amusement. I therefore wish to intrude still further on your goodness, and ask the favor of you to adopt such a

plan as will with the greatest degree of certainty insure the reception of the publications from England earlier, if possible, and certainly as early as any one in America. In effecting this great object, I wish to ask the favor of you to make the necessary arrangements, without any regard whatever to the expense; for expense is really out of the question, when compared with the good to be obtained. I wish that you would send as freely by vessels bound to other ports, as well as those to the port of Boston, especially if you should think we might receive the publications by this conveyance one single day sooner than by a direct opportunity. Perhaps it might be well never to send more than one file of papers and a few magazines and reviews by one vessel. Perhaps Mr. James Carter, at Liverpool, and who has kindly offered his services, may be useful in aiding us to execute the project. But after all, I confide the whole to your exertions, with a firm persuasion, from past experience of your goodness, that every thing will be done, consistent with your numerous and more pressing avocations, calculated to promote this most desirable object.

"The Edinburgh, London and Quarterly Reviews, my friend Mr. Rice sends to the Athenæum. If there be any journals of high merit which we do not take, I will thank you to add them to the list. The Universal Magazine is poor stuff, and if you please you may stop it after the present volume (14th) is completed. We have never taken any magazine from Edinburgh, and I wish you to send me the Edinburgh Monthly Magazine, five numbers

only of which have been published; all of which may be sent out. Also the Critical Review, the Repertory of Arts, and any others you may think proper. I also enclose a memorandum of a few magazines which are wanting to complete the volumes. I wish you to consider the whole business relative to English newspapers and magazines perfectly and exclusively under your control; and if it should so happen, that under this unqualified power any mistakes might be committed, I could easily give you information long before any serious pecuniary loss could accrue to the institution.

"I sent to you by Mr. S. Welles, who embarked for Liverpool in the Sally Ann, a first. bill of exchange, at thirty days' sight, drawn upon Messrs. Richard Butler & Co. for £127 6 8, which I presume you have received, and the bill accepted. I now do myself the honor to enclose the second, which I wish you to pass to the credit of the Athenæum; and as soon as it may be convenient, to transmit to me your account. There will probably be a small balance in our favor, which you will of course keep in your hands.

"I also wish to ask the favor of you to send out, as soon as possible after publication, some of the most interesting pamphlets, particularly every one on any subject in which this country in any degree may be interested."

From the same to the same, near the preceding date. "In compliance with your kind offer, my good friend, to render any services in your power, during your residence in Europe, to the Athenæum,

for which I most sincerely thank you, I now do myself the honor to enclose an order for a few books, which I hope you will be successful in procuring. Those ordered from England have all been lately published, and of course you will find no difficulty in purchasing; some of them are pamphlets, and the value of many of the others to the institution depend on our receiving them by the earliest opportunity. I therefore wish you, if possible, to procure them and send them to me in a package from Liverpool by the first vessel which sails after your arrival at London. The books ordered from Italy are of rarer value, more difficult to be procured, and which of course you will attend to as your leisure permits. If you succeed in the execution of this order, you may have the pleasure of congratulating yourself in being instrumental in introducing highly valuable books into your country, of which probably, at the present time, there does not exist a single copy. In addition to this order, I wish you to procure me every book you can find in Italy relative to America, excepting Castiglioni's Travels, which we have; for it is a great object with me to procure every book, in every language, that was ever written respecting our own country.

"You will observe that I have ordered but a few books from Paris. You will remember that I sent out, by Mr. John Gray, an order to the amount of twenty-three hundred dollars, which order has been executed, and for which I have paid. The books I probably shall receive by the Sally, which was to

sail from Bourdeaux some time in October, in which vessel Mr. Armstrong is most certainly to come home, and under whose protection the books are to be. You will see Mr. Wilder, who can give you information relative to Treuttel & Wirtz, our booksellers in Paris, who will probably have a list of every book sent out. This you may consider as a part of our catalogue. If there should have been any highly distinguished work of merit published, scientific or literary, since that order was executed, I should thank you to send me a few of the most meritorious. I wish you most particularly to make some certain arrangements with Mr. Wilder, by which we may most surely and promptly receive the French papers and literary journals. I wish also to ask the favor of you to collect some of the best literary discourses addressed to learned societies, &c. &c., with which Paris abounds. I want these not only for the Athenæum, but in order to translate parts of the best of them for the Anthology.

"You will observe that I have ordered Humboldt's Travels in South America. All the works of this author I am very desirous of procuring by the earliest opportunity. In France, as in Italy, I give you the power to procure for me every book you can find relative to America, which you may learn from our catalogue we do not already possess.

"What do you think of collecting for us some of the most celebrated medals in Paris, all you send to be in bronze? Sawyer tells me that you may procure a complete series illustrating the principal events of Bonaparte's public life, for thirty dollars.

I should like also to procure some struck off in honor of the principal literary men of France; but for this object I should not dare to authorize you to pay more than fifty dollars, at farthest. By the way, Ralph Read has returned home, and says he sent for the Athenæum a considerable collection of medallions, addressed to your care; but as I have never received them, he has written to Washington to inquire respecting them. If you can give us any information, I will thank you.

"In every country where you go, my friend, send us booksellers' prices and catalogues of the latest date. These are of immense advantage in aiding us to select a library. They designate the place where books are to be found, and the price for which they may be procured. Short bibliographical sketches are given of the editors, style of binding, &c., which enable us to make our orders with a great degree of certainty, and scarcely with the possibility of their being mistaken."

Sept. 23. William Cunningham, Jr., at Fitchburg, writes to Ex-President John Adams. "Three days of this week, I was absent on a journey to Boston. I passed some hours at the Athenæum, and at the office of its founder, with even more satisfaction than I had anticipated. An enterprise of so much utility, originating in the foresight and public spirit of Mr. Shaw, and seconded by his urbanity, industry and exactness, cannot fail of reaching a point, that will give him an immortality of renown."

Nov. 6. John Pintard, of New York, to Mr.

Shaw. "We are attempting a reading-room as an appendage to our Historical Society, to afford the means of collecting more extensively the gazettes and ephemeral productions of the United States. Time only can prove the success of the enterprise. Appearances are, however, flattering." He proposes an exchange of publications. "We are scarcely yet in embryo, but I do not despair that the utility of the society will awaken and attract the notice and patronage of our fellow citizens. We have more phlegm to encounter than you have. But it is characteristic of our city to proceed heavily in every thing that relates to taste and science." It is accompanied with a printed address of the New York Historical Society.

1810, March 3. From James Ogilvie, at Newport, R. I. "It will, I am sure, afford you peculiar pleasure to be informed that an institution, analogous to the Boston Athenæum, (although on a smaller scale,) is about to be established in Providence. A considerable sum of money has been already subscribed, and an act of incorporation obtained. Will you have the goodness to communicate to Mr. Paul Allen of Providence, by letter, a succinct account of the plan of the Athenæum, the arrangements of your reading-room, and any other information which you may conceive to be necessary or useful?"

March 5. From Daniel Howell, of Providence, R. I. He observes that it is in contemplation to establish an Athenæum there, and wishes for information as to the like establishment in Boston.

March 6. From Edward S. Livermore in Wash-

ington. "The inclosed paper is said to be doing much good in Virginia, as, under the mask of democracy, it carries good federal stuff where a federal paper could not find admission. I wish some of your rich, patriotic persons would afford it a little aid. The Senate insist upon their amendment to Macon's bill, and have chosen conferees. The question is now discussing upon a concurrence with the Senate. The editor of the 'Spirit[1] of '76' is in heart a federalist."

March 7. From B. D. Perkins of New York. He states, that the strictures on the works of Noah Webster, under the signature of "Steady Habits," were from his pen. He evidently appeared prejudiced against Webster, and therefore not disposed to allow him the merit which he actually possessed.

March 14. From Isaiah Thomas of Worcester. "As you have expressed an interest in the History of Printing, it is my wish you should see it as far as it is printed, before it undergoes the inspection of any other person. I send you a copy for perusal, and request you would favor me with your candid opinion respecting it, before you communicate that opinion to another. The work will make two volumes of nearly five hundred pages each. The Catalogue of Books printed in America before the Revolution, should I proceed with it, must be a separate volume. I often feel discouraged and incompetent to the task I have undertaken, and not seldom, have an inclination to lay it aside."

[1] In a letter dated at Washington, of April 22d, Josiah Quincy recommends this print to be subscribed for by the Boston Athenæum.

March 15. From Augustus E. Kendall in New York. He states that an edition of his Travels in North America, had been published there contrary to his wishes. He says of the publication that it is incomplete, for lack of the drawings in his possession. "These Travels will appear in England in their complete form. Then, and not till then, will they be properly amenable to a literary tribunal. I confidently flatter myself with experiencing from you all that will be suggested by your sense of courtesy."

March 24. From Walter Channing, Newport, R. I. As arrangements had been made for the revival of the Redwood Library, he desires the aid of Mr. Shaw for carrying them into effect.

April 11. From John Pickering, Salem. "This day we had the first meeting of the proprietors of the Athenæum, and appointed a committee for the purpose of devising regulations for the Corporation. The committee have requested me to ask you for a copy of the Regulations for your Athenæum, which I shall be glad to receive to-day."

April 12. From Mr. Woodward, in Michigan. "Mr. Woodward has the honor to present his respects to the editors of the 'Monthly Anthology and Boston Review,' and to acknowledge the reception, by mail, of the fourth number of the sixth volume, being that for April, 1809, and containing a criticism on the 'Considerations respecting the Executive Government of the United States.' At this distance from the theatre where the review appeared, the attention of the editors in transmitting

it, has been alike polite and acceptable; and nothing can be more just than their idea *that anarchy accelerates the moment of individual usurpation.* Perhaps the annexation of four constitutional counsellors to the executive of the United States, without the concurrence of two of whom the President cannot act, and who can themselves, in no case, act without the concurrence of the President, might, if attempted, be productive of greater intrigue and dissension, than the system of a single elective magistrate, without any counsellors designated by the constitution for personal consultation. It is at least very certain that any changes of a constitution of government, other than those which are imperiously necessary, are generally attended with *much practical evil*, in exchange for *a little abstract good.* By impairing the habits of veneration and obedience, they relax all the bands of society, and terminate in the prostration of civil order. No other people could have borne, with safety, so many successive advances in the science of republican government as have been made in America; and, perhaps, the Americans themselves cannot bear further experiments.

"The construction of the American Republic, however, transcends so greatly every thing of which the previous history of the human race presents an example, both requires and produces such public intelligence and virtue, and is at once so *unique* and so sublime, that every suggestion which may have a tendency to cement, or even to decorate the structure, may be worthy of a transient attention;

and perhaps, in an empire so extensive as the United States, a participation of the different quarters in the executive power, may tend to preserve and to fortify a union so precious to America and to mankind."

May 10. From John Vaughan, in Philadelphia. "I have sent a book for your Library, published under the direction of the Unitarian Society here. The principles of that persuasion being little understood here, where, till lately, no such society existed."

June 2. From Mr. Shaw's mother, in Atkinson. "Your good aunt Adams has made us a most agreeable visit. I wish you could have accompanied her. She says that you are very unwell, that you are pressed with business, which requires you to sit up late at night. I have been long of the opinion that *midnight oil* never enriched the mind or the purse. But, in its consequences, it impoverishes both, by destroying the *health* on which they depend for the increase of their respective gains. Morning is the time for the efficient performance of our various callings. Come here and recruit. All shall be done to render you happy. I thank you for the excellent lectures of Mr. Adams, which you were so kind as to send me."

July 12. John T. Kirkland, at Clinton, county of Oneida, N. Y. While on a journey, he wrote, as his words are, "lest possibly some dependence should be placed on my predictions or promises uttered the last time we met, in favor of furnishing the other part of the Review of the dictionaries,

etc., for the Anthology of July. Or, if this should not be the case, and my habit of disappointing has cured the expectation of my friends, yet it becomes debtors and delinquents, debtors especially, to be civil, and when they fail to send principal or interest, to be ready with a letter of excuse. The political heat among the people here seems to be passing off in the evaporation created by the toil of *haying*. The federalists think that they lost the election by the loss of that of Massachusetts, the inconceivable slanders propagated respecting the candidate for the governor's chair, and the unhappy circumstance of the cause of federalism being identified with that of Mr. Jackson, etc."

CHAPTER XIII.

Resources of the United States — Ogilvie's Orations — Stimulus — Portrait — Lewis and Clarke's Expedition — Cheeves — Slave — European Books — Missions — Introductions — Meridian — Mathematical Prodigy — Chronic Complaints — Maternal Advice — Monument for Washington — History of Georgia — Cunningham Correspondence — Libeda — Natural History — Seal — Death of Buckminster — Remarks on S. Adams, J. Otis and J. Hancock — Mitchell's Account of Fishes — Lights for the Enemy — Athenæums in Philadelphia and Portland.

July 18. From Samuel Ewing of Philadelphia. "My friend, Robert Hare, (late Professor of Chemistry,) has just published a pamphlet on the power and resources of the United States. He has not given his name to the public. Whatever may be the opinion generally adopted of the merits of this production, the perusal of it will satisfy you, that it is written by a man who thinks for himself and borrows little from others."

July 26. From James Ogilvie at Portsmouth. "I seize, my dear sir, the earliest opportunity to inform you that the oration I propose to deliver on the Athenæum is finished. It occupies about fifty pages, and will require from an hour and fifteen to an hour and twenty minutes in the delivery. I have devoted twelve days to the composition of it, with assiduity and ardor. The subject is so rich

and diversified, that the principal difficulty I have encountered, has been in the judicious choice and striking disposition of the materials which persevering reflection has supplied. I have never attempted to prepare myself for any rhetorical exhibition with a deeper interest, or with so genuine and unflagging an enthusiasm. The oration is unquestionably the best I am able to write, and unless my elocution is enfeebled by one of those unaccountable and most afflicting visitations of morbid depression to which I am unhappily liable, will produce a more powerful impression than any effusion of this sort I have ever pronounced.

"I did not even attempt to reflect, much less to commit my reflections to paper upon this subject, until I began to feel an entire renovation of physical and intellectual energy. The abrupt disuse of a stimulus (confessedly the most potent, which the the materia medica can furnish) incapacitated me for several weeks for intense thinking or energetic exertion. At this time, although my health is languid, the tone of my nerve, the activity and vigor of my faculties, are perfectly restored.

"Some considerable time will probably elapse before I can revisit Boston. The interval will be devoted almost exclusively to the revision and enlargement of the oration I have previously delivered, and to the composition of others on subjects far more interesting. I have already printed a second oration on duelling, in which I have endeavored to deduce from the admitted and fundamental principles of religion and morality a conclusive answer

to every plausible argument that has been urged in vindication of this most barbarous and hateful custom.

"It is not improbable, that previous to my departure from this place and during my visit to Salem, I may deliver the principal part of my oration on the Atheneum, under the designation of a discourse on the 'Utility of Public Libraries,' in order that I may be better prepared to pronounce the oration in Boston with effect. Have the goodness to present my kind regards to Mr. Buckminster, and to accept assurance of my sincere esteem."

August 15. From William Crafts of Charleston, S. C. "I enclose you the oration delivered by Mr. Cheeves, attorney general of the State and candidate for a seat in the next Congress. He stands at the head of the democrats in this country, and is regarded as the dernier resort of their desponding forces. He has raised himself to his present station entirely by his own exertions, having been wholly unassisted by education in his younger years."

October. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "I shall be in town on Monday to attend Mr. Stuart. I feel an anxiety respecting the price. Your affection for me may exceed the bounds of your circumstances. Mr. Stuart was very polite, appeared sensible and entertaining. I have no ambition but that it [portrait] should be expressive of my benevolence to creation and my affection for my dear children. These are sentiments which ever glow in my bosom and I hope illumine my countenance. But I felt so disagreeably to sit down to be looked at, and to

look up to a stranger's face, that I fear little of my true lineaments will be seen."

Oct. 25. Committed to Mr. Shaw, apparently for information, is a letter from Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia to Col. George Gibbs, the mineralogist, of Boston. "The busiest man in this part of the country is myself. About five or six months ago, I consented very reluctantly to write the history of Lewis and Clarke's expedition to the Pacific. The work will be executed jointly by Doctor Barton and myself. As the chief labor falls on myself, I have been occupied most unremittingly with volumes of manuscript journals and Indian names of immeasurable length, till I am almost as dull and wild as the veriest savage on the Missouri. I begin to see the end of my journey; but the prospect is still distant, and I am almost frighted at what even now remains of the composition, correction and publication of two octavo volumes. My part, however, will be finished before the maps, etc. will be completed, though I am unable to say when the whole will be published. This occupation of author, added to my usual profession, has received a still further increase; for my discerning fellow-citizens have lately made me a legislator, so that I shall pass the greater part of the winter at Lancaster, engaged in taking care of the commonwealth, and quarreling with the Germans about turnpike roads and other grave matters. On the subject of legislating, by the way, I should like some information." He then proceeds to inquire about our militia and schools. He adds, "While I was in Virginia, I saw

Mr. Munroe, who is calmly sitting down to the cultivation of tobacco, near Charlottesville. His estate is very good, but had been out of order during his absence. However, he has received another handsome estate, left to him by an uncle."

Nov. 4. Mr. Shaw is chosen a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Nov. 5. John Lathrop, Jr., writes to Mr. Shaw to assist and encourage his plan to procure "an apparatus for experiments in a course of lectures on natural philosophy" in Boston.

Nov. 10. From Hugh McCall of Savannah, Ga. "I send you the Life of General James Jackson of Georgia." He mentions that the planters on the sea coast had lost three-fourths of their crops by a gale in September. He desires that a female slave, who had left his family when he was on a visit to Boston, might be restored to them.

Nov. 13. William S. Shaw to Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. "In order to lessen your labor and facilitate your inquiries as much as possible, relative to books on America, for the Boston Athenæum, I have taken the trouble to look over Lackington's catalogue for 1808–9, and Priestly's for 1810, and now do myself the honor to transmit to you a list of every book which I could find, with the numbers affixed in the respective catalogues, relative to this great object; one copy of each book I hope you will be able to procure. The same books are sometimes repeated in the same catalogue, and may be often found in both, but I chose to copy them as they were found in the catalogues, so that out of

the whole you might select the best copy of each. You need not trouble yourself about procuring any to be bound, but send them bound or in boards, as you may find them; although where you have a choice, I should much prefer the latter. I mean this only as to works on America. If any portion of Humboldt's work respecting South America be translated, will you please to send it to me by the first opportunity. I do not wish you should feel yourself in the least restricted by any orders. I send this with its inclosures merely to assist your inquiries, but I wish you to collect for the Athenæum every book, tract, &c., relative to this country, which you may meet with, which we do not already possess. I send you by the Galen, copies of our catalogue to Mr. Higginson, and to William Scollay and R. Priestley, our bookseller in London. Will you give information of such books as he sent out last, relative to America, which are not in the catalogue. As I passed over the catologues in search for books on America, I have occasionally marked a few books on different subjects, which I will thank you to procure for me. I also enclose an additional list of books on grammar and on the origin and progress of language and letters.

"I hope, my dear sir, you will excuse me for trespassing so far on your goodness, as to ask for your exertions during your residence in England in favor of this dear infant institution, in recommending its interests to the attention and patronage of the men of learning and affluence in the blessed Island of Great Britain. I have great doubts whether it be

possible at this period to collect a great valuable library for this country without considerable contribution from the learned treasures of both France and England.

"The subject of Indian missions has for a long time been in England an interesting topic of discussion, and I should feel myself under great obligation, if you would make a collection for the Athenæum of the most interesting tracts on the subject. Many of them have been reviewed in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews."

Nov. 19. From S. Goodenow in Albany, N. Y. "I have given some gentlemen letters of introduction to you. My reasons for it are, the advantage your acquaintance will be to them and the hope of bringing them to be acquainted with and advocates for institutions like the Athenæum. Public opinion and wishes look towards such a thing here already, and a few years will introduce it on a smaller scale, at least, if nothing more. In New York, it is taking root in good season and good soil. Salem also has followed your example, I learn. I believe, as Kendall in his Travels has observed, respecting the Boston Athenæum, we may consider you as the father of the whole progeny, which is to spring up."

Dec. 15. From Charles Sigourney of Hartford, Conn. "I beg the favor of you to introduce my friend, Mr. Tisdale, to the delights of the institution at the head of which you are placed, and which is so liberally open to respectable strangers. Mr. Tisdale's claims to your attention consist in his being

a man of talents in his profession, in the opinion of Col. Trumbull, which is that of a miniature painter and designer, and a man of merit in other respects. I am persuaded that an acquaintance will be mutually agreeable, and I hope you will find him like Goldsmith's Sir Joshua,

> 'Born to improve us in every part,
> His pencil our faces, his manners our heart.'"

1811, January 1. Jedidiah Morse, of Charlestown, addresses a circular to Mr. Shaw for aid in obtaining corrections and facts for his new edition of the American Universal Geography.

Jan. 17. Among several letters of Nathaniel Bowditch is one of this date. The correspondence relates to his strictures on the memorial and papers of William Lambert, laid before Congress, "relative to the establishment of a first meridian in and for the United States."

Feb. 11. A letter from Josiah Quincy in Washington, expressing his earnest and repeated wish that the plan, proposed in Boston the year before, for the maintenance and education of Zerah Colburn, might be carried into effect. There were several communications on the same subject. The leading motive with the writers was, to save the child from the probable ruin of being exhibited as a mathematical prodigy. A contract accompanies them, in which Mr. Shaw is one of five trustees of a fund, to be collected by subscription for such an object. But it seems that the father of the boy delayed at first to comply with the terms, so that when he consented, the enterprise was relinquished through

dissatisfaction with his course. Still another attempt of the kind was made in Exeter, N. H. In relation to it, Hosea Hildreth, professor of mathematics, addressed a letter to Mr. Shaw, under date of June 19, 1811. He stated, that Mr. Colburn would soon embark for Europe with his son, unless suitable provision could be made to render it unnecessary. As well known, the embarkation took place. This parent, after years of trial, died abroad, and the son [1] returned in 1824, to his native State, and became a preacher of the Methodist order. The mind of the latter, which, for several of his earliest years, promised astonishing mathematical development, disappointed him and the public both here and in England. The most encouraging precocity, in this instance, has resulted in no greater excellence, than common talent perseveringly cultivated.

March 3. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "I heard that you were sick with the rheumatism. If it is only in your limbs, to keep warm and promote circulation by flannel, is the best I can advise. I remember reading Cadogan's Treatise on Chronic Disorders. He considered rheumatism as arising from three causes, sudden colds, intemperance, peevishness or anxiety of mind. When I first saw the book, I was just recovering from a long confinement by a rheumatic fever. I seized the book with delight, hoping I should find some catholicon to free

[1] He published a memoir of himself in 1833. He became professor of the Latin, Greek, French and Spanish languages and of English classical literature, in the Norwich University, Vt., in 1835. He died March 2, 1840, in his thirty-fifth year.

me from all pain. But how vexed was I to see the two latter causes specified. As I read on, however, the author explained intemperance on a large scale, as excess in labor, eating, drinking, sleeping and watching. I forget whether he mentioned *smoking*. But I think he could not have omitted this habit, which so enfeebles the system. I suppose, therefore, that Cadogan would tell us to avoid the occasions of taking cold, never eat late at night, be careful in all our regimen; to cultivate true magnanimity of soul, be patient, resigned and cheerful under all the vicissitudes of life. When you read this, I perceive you look up with a smile and say, 'Dear mother, all this I have done from my youth up.' It is my comfort to believe you have. Still it is the excellence of virtues, that they may be continually increasing. It should, my son, be your religious inquiry, 'What lack I yet?'

"By the newspaper, I see that Mr. John Q. Adams has had a unanimous vote for the office of Chief Justice. I am pleased, because he will do honor to any trust. It looks as though the public knew his worth, and were convinced, as I have long been, of his integrity. I have heard much of a late letter of his published in the Patriot. I wish that I could see it thus printed."

March 7. From Edward J. Cole of Baltimore. "Presuming on our former friendly intercourse, while you resided in Philadelphia and I read law with Mr. Hopkinson, I take the liberty to trouble you with the enclosed prospectus. Perhaps you can advise me as to the best mode of disposing of

a part of the edition for the supply of your town and neighborhood, and if you have leisure, I should be still more indebted to you for the information, or (should you not have leisure) for your advice as to the best source of obtaining the information I want for the work respecting Massachusetts, such as the universities; ancient and other societies; libraries, when founded; remarkable buildings and bridges, when erected; turnpike roads; banks; insurance offices; remarkable events which have occurred in the State, etc.

"I have heard from time to time much concerning the flourishing state of the Athenæum, and it gives me pleasure to find that all respect and acknowledgments are directed to you as the founder. I have long contemplated forwarding a number of books which might be acceptable, and will very soon put my intentions into execution."

May 23. A circular is sent to persons, chosen trustees of a fund to be raised for erecting a monument to Washington, in Massachusetts. Mr. Shaw was much interested in this enterprise, and was one of the original trustees.

June 30. From Hugh McCall, Savannah, Georgia. "I have had no letter from you since I left Boston. I have forwarded such literary matter, relative to Georgia, as you wished. If not valuable, you had the will for the deed. Knowing your low appreciation of Georgia literature, I commenced, soon after my return home, writing a history of the State. The work is now ready for the press, and will come forth in September. It will commence

with the first settlement and come down to 1774, embracing a period of forty years, in one volume of three hundred and fifty to four hundred pages. You will think it strange, no doubt, that I should undertake to write a book. Without jesting, I shall feel great diffidence in handing the productions of my pen for the examination and criticism of the world."

July 13. From William Cunningham, Jr. of Fitchburg. "In a conversation we had in February of 1810, concerning a correspondence between Mr. Adams and myself, you expressed some solicitude, that his letters might not be used to his disadvantage. On the 18th of last April, I addressed him a letter, in which I mentioned three forms, in one of which the letter would be disposed of, after two months from its date, should it be answered. I have received no answer. It may be that the letter did not reach Mr. Adams, and it is possible that an answer may have miscarried. The doubt which hangs on these two points has determined me to acquaint you, that I am now transcribing the letter of April 18th for the press." He then proceeds to express himself strongly against Mr. Adams's strictures on Hamilton, and speaks of these, as communicated to him, as the cause of the preceding publication. But Mr. Cunningham evidently mistook the result of the pamphlet he issued. This should be an admonition for all who are tempted to expose the opinions of their correspondents who trust in their friendship.

Sept. 12. A letter from Col. Paul Revere of Boston, with pieces of copper coin, which were

obtained by Capt. Nathaniel Haraden in 1804, from the ruins of a once splendid city, called Libeda, about seventy miles from Tripoli.

Sept. 13. From Hugh McCall, Savannah, Ga. "This letter will be accompanied with my proposals for publishing a History of Georgia, contained in the first sheet, which has just come from the press, and is sent to you as a specimen of the paper and type. If you should feel disposed to patronize the production of my pen, be pleased to exhibit the proposals in some place most likely to procure subscribers, and make known to me the result on the first of November, as the books will be ready for delivery early in that month. Six hundred copies are already subscribed for, and I have only made arrangements for one thousand. I presume my feelings on this occasion are similar to those of a diffident orator, who is on the eve of delivering his first speech before an enlightened audience."

Nov. 6. From William Hunter and others of Newport, a committee of the Redwood Library. They state that this institution had been recently revived, that they were empowered to obtain funds for its increase, and they desire the co-operation of Mr. Shaw for this object.

1812, January. Mr. Shaw to Obadiah Rich. "It is with no ordinary pleasure that I transmit to you the enclosed votes, passed at a meeting of the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, on the first Monday of January, 1812. In thus complying with this duty, I should do injustice to the feelings of my heart, were I not to confess to you my many

delightful anticipations, that this institution, which I most dearly cherish and love, will be increasingly useful and prosperous; and this too, in part, because you have considered it as worthy of your exertion. Permit me to express my fervent wish, that the contemplated Cabinet of Natural History, under your patronage and direction, may receive a liberal endowment."

The year, so commenced, being the first of the war with Great Britain, was one of great discouragement, as to the Athenæum. Of six established meetings for its trustees, but one had a quorum for the transaction of its business. At this critical juncture, Mr. Shaw redoubled his diligence, and necessarily took on himself almost the entire superintendence of the institution.

April 11. Among Mr. Shaw's papers is an ingenious letter from the late John Davis, judge of Massachusetts District Court, to Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, on the subject of a seal for the Boston Athenæum. It was accompanied with a drawing and motto of the seal.

April 30. From Rev. James Abercrombie of Philadelphia. "I cannot suffer my son-in-law and daughter to visit Boston, without giving them an introduction to you. Your polite attentions are essentially necessary to the comfort and happiness of all strangers who visit Boston and its vicinity. Mr. and Mrs. Andrews belong to the class of inquisitive *travelers*, and will therefore wish to see the Athenæum and all the wonderful *notions* of your town." The writer, indulging his vein of

humor, proceeds. "In the late eruption of Mount Ætna, a petrified foot was thrown out, which, to the inexpressible astonishment and rapturous delight of the antiquarians of Europe, is ascertained, by certain corns and other excrescences, to be the foot of Empedocles. I indulge 'high blown hopes' of obtaining one of the said corns, through the interest of an arch antiquary, who has enjoyed the high privilege and felicity of seeing, feeling and smelling the foot. I shall give you the earliest intelligence of the corn's arrival, that you may start, *prima luce*, in the expedition to see, feel and smell it also. I fear nothing short of such an object will ever induce you to visit Philadelphia."

June 16. A communication from Dr. J. Gorham, giving the details of a post mortem examination of Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster.

August 25. From Mr. Shaw's mother. "You know that I am a sincere mourner, when the good and the intelligent are taken from the earth. Such was your beloved friend, the youthful and worthy Buckminster. With you I condole, as an individual; with his church, who are bereaved of a distinguished luminary; and with his two amiable sisters, who have thus sustained a loss additional to that of their much-loved mother and father. Friend after friend, my dear son, is severed from your heart. May you meditate thereon, and learn to consider your own frailty."

Nov. 3. As an original member of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Shaw is notified of their first meeting.

1813, Jan. 19. From Josiah Quincy at Washington. He desired that his remarks in Congress, which had been replied to by Mr. Clay, and misrepresented by various editors, might be printed in a pamphlet in Boston, under the care of Mr. Shaw.

Jan. 26. From a young man in New York. "In an hour when I might have looked around in vain for a single smile of encouragement or favor; when I seemed to stand alone in the world, and knew not which way to turn for aid, you affectionately took me by the hand, and proffered me, unsolicited, your friendship, and poured into my soul the balm of joy. How trifling are the returns which I can make you, in comparison with what I have received."

June 5. Extracts from John Adams's letter to William Tudor, and preserved by Mr. Shaw, follow. "You 'never profoundly admired Mr. H.' I have suggested some hints in his favor. You 'never profoundly admired Mr. S. A.' I have promised you an apology for him. You may think it a weak one; for I have no talent at panegyric or apology. 'There are all sorts of men in the world.' This observation, you may say, is self-evident and futile; yet Mr. Locke thought it not unworthy of him to make it; and if we reflect upon it, there is more meaning in it than meets the eye at the first blush. You say Mr. S. A. 'had too much sternness and pious bigotry.' A man in his situation and circumstances must possess a large fund of sternness of stuff, or he will soon be annihilated. His piety ought not to be objected to him or any other

man. His bigotry, if he had any, was a fault; but he certainly had not more than governor Hutchinson and secretary Oliver, who I know, from personal conversations, were as stanch Trinitarians and Calvinists as he was, and treated all Arians and Arminians with more contempt and scorn, than he ever did. Mr. Adams lived and conversed freely with all sectarians in philosophy and divinity. He never imposed his creed on any one, nor endeavored to make proselytes to his religious opinions. He was as far from sentencing any man to perdition who differed from him, as Mr. Holley, Dr. Kirkland, or Dr. Freeman. If he was a Calvinist, a Calvinist he had been educated, and so had been all his ancestors for two hundred years. He had been from his childhood too much devoted to politics to be a profound student in metaphysics and theology, or to make extensive researches or deep investigations into such subjects. Nor had any other man attempted it in this nation in that age, if any one has attempted it since. Mr. Adams was an original. *Sui generis, sui juris.* The variety of human characters is infinite. Nature seems to delight in showing the inexhaustibility of her resources. There never were two men alike, from the first man to the last, any more than two pebbles or two peas.

"Mr. Adams was born and tempered a wedge of steel, to split the knot of lignum vitæ which tied North America to Great Britain. Blunderheaded as were the British ministry, they had sagacity enough to discriminate from all others, for inexorable ven-

geance, the two men the most to be dreaded by them, Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and had not James Otis been then dead, or worse than dead, his name would have been at the head of THE TRIUMVIRATE.

"James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, were the three most essential characters; and Great Britain knew it, though America does not. Great and important and excellent characters, aroused and excited by these, arose in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, South Carolina, and in all the other States; but these three were the first movers, the most constant, steady, persevering springs, agents, and most disinterested sufferers and firmest pillars of the whole Revolution.

"I shall not attempt even to draw the outlines of the biography of Mr. Samuel Adams. Who can attempt it?

"But if I had time, eyes and fingers at my command, where should I find documents and memorials? Without the character of Samuel Adams, the true history of the American Revolution can never be written. For fifty years his pen, his tongue, his activity were constantly exerted for his country, without fee or reward. During all that time he was an almost incessant writer. But where are his writings? Who can collect them? And if collected, who will ever read them? The letters he wrote and received, where are they? I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of letters, into atoms that

could never be reunited, and throw them out at the window, to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer, when he had no fire. In winter he threw whole handfuls into the fire. As we were on terms of perfect intimacy, I have joked him, perhaps rudely, upon his anxious caution. His answer was, 'Whatever becomes of me, my friends shall never suffer by my negligence.'

"This may be thought a less significant anecdote than another. Mr. Adams left the letters he had received and preserved, in possession of his widow. This lady, as was natural, lent them to a confidential friend of her husband, Mr. Avery, who then was and had been Secretary of the Commonwealth under the administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock. Mr. Avery informed me that 'he had them, and that they were a complete history of the Revolution.' I will not say into whose hands they fell after Mr. Avery's death, and I cannot say where they are now. But I have heard that a gentleman in Charlestown, Mr. Austin, undertook to write the Life of Mr. Adams; but finding his papers had been so garbled that the truth could not be discovered, he abandoned his design. Never will those letters which secretary Avery possessed ever be brought together again, nor will they ever be found. So much for Mr. Adams, at present. Now for Mr. Otis.

"I write no biographies or biographical sketches. I give only hints. James Otis was descended from our most ancient families. His education was the best his country afforded. He was bred to the bar

under Mr. Gridley, the greatest lawyer and the greatest classic scholar I ever knew at any bar. His application was incessant and indefatigable. Justice Richard Dana has often told me, that the apartment in which Otis studied, when a pupil and a clerk of Mr. Gridley, was near his house; that he had watched him from day to day, and that he had never known a student in law so punctual, so steady, so constant and persevering. Accordingly, as soon as he was admitted to the bar, he became a conspicuous figure. And among whom? Gridley, Pratt, Trowbridge, and he was much admired, and as much celebrated as any of them. His generous, manly, noble character as a private gentleman, his uncommon attainments in literature, especially in the law, and his nervous, commanding eloquence at the bar, were every where spoken of. The government soon discerned his superiority, and commissioned him Advocate General. He married a lady who in that day was esteemed a fortune. From 1755 to 1758, I heard my master, Colonel James Putnam of Worcester, who was a critical judge, and Mr. Trowbridge, the then attorney general, and his lady, constantly speaking of Otis as the greatest, the most learned, the most manly and the most honest young man of his age. All this was before I had ever seen Mr. Otis. I never saw him till late in the autumn of 1758, nor Mr. Samuel Adams till after that year.

"To sum up, in a few words. The two young men whom I have known to enter the stage of life with the most luminous, unclouded prospects and

the best founded hopes, were James Otis and John Hancock. They were both essential to the Revolution, and both fell sacrifices to it.

"Mr. Otis, from 1760 to 1770, had correspondences in this province, in New England, in the middle and southern Colonies, in England, in Scotland. What is become of these letters and answers? Mr. Otis, soon after my earliest acquaintance with him, lent me a summary of Greek Prosody of his own collection and composition; a work of profound learning and great labor. I had it six months in my possession before I returned it. Since my return from Europe, I asked his daughter whether she had found that work among her father's manuscripts? She answered me with a countenance of wo, that you may more easily imagine than I can describe, that she 'had not a line from her father's pen!' That 'he had spent much time and taken great pains to collect together all his letters and other papers, and in one of his unhappy moments committed them all to the flames.' I have used her own expressions.

"Such has been the fate of the memorials of Mr. James Otis and Mr. Samuel Adams. It was not without reason, then, that I wrote to Mr. Niles of Baltimore, that the true history of the American Revolution is lost forever. I could write volumes of other proofs of the same truth, before, during, and since the Revolution. But, *cui bono?* They would be read by very few, and by very few of those few would be credited."

July 19. From Nathaniel Lord, 3d, of Ipswich.

His proposal for "a new edition of the Alphabetical Catalogue of Graduates at Harvard University."

August 24. From John Adams of Quincy. "Judge Vanderkemp needs no recommendation to you. If your health and official duties will admit of your coming with him, you know that you both will be received with open arms. If I have not been in a delusion for more than thirty years, he is a *salt mountain*, i. e., of the salt of the earth. I have said to him, that my only fear is, that you Bostonians will kill him with kindness, as the Parisians did Voltaire."

Oct. 26. Mr. Shaw has notice of his being elected an honorary member of the New York Historical Society.

Dec. 13. From Jonathan Russell at Mendon. He speaks of his correspondence with J. Q. Adams, and of sending to Mr. Shaw the letter from Mr. Adams mentioned under date of November 7, in the last year.

1814, January 1. From Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell of New York. "I beg you to place in the Boston Athenæum, my commencement of the description and classification of the fishes of New York. The Boston market has long been celebrated for its animals of the same class. It would gratify me exceedingly to know distinctly what they are. With the hope of gaining this information, I herewith send you a bunch of those caught in this vicinity. It consists of about seventy sorts, fifty-four of which are good for human food. Fifty have been described by myself from fresh specimens, and forty

of them are unknown to the systematic compilers of Europe. A few copies only have been printed, at my expense, for distribution to the worthy. Additional specimens are almost daily coming to hand. Should I authorize a new edition, there are many additions ready to be made to it. In the course of the current year, I hope to render it as correct and complete as possible. Will you, or some zoologist of Massachusetts, go through the finny tribes of your waters, as I have done and continue to do here?"

Jan. 8. From Henry Channing, of New London, Conn. "The statement given in the Gazette of this city, respecting lights exhibited near the entrance of this harbor, on the heights, as signals to the enemy, on Monday night, December 12th, when the report prevailed, that our squadron would put to sea before morning, is correct. Com. Decatur, in his communication to the navy department, says twenty. He told me, that his officers calculated forty or fifty, but that he wished to be far within bounds in the number given." Mr. Channing remarked, that federalist as well as democratic presses should denounce such treason.

Feb. 19. From Samuel Ewing of Philadelphia. "We have just associated together to establish an athenæum or reading-room in our city. I have been appointed one of the managers. It is our wish to be guided by the experience of those who have gone before us. I do not know of any one, to whom we could apply with better hopes than yourself. I am sure there is no one who feels more zeal

in the cause of letters than yourself. I have presumed on our former intimacy to address myself to you, for such information as may enable us to carry our object into execution."

Feb. 27. From A. W. Atherton of Portland. "We are contemplating to establish in this town an institution like your Boston Athenæum. Knowing your zeal and willingness to contribute to the general dissemination of useful knowledge, I may venture, without an apology, to request your answer to the following questions." These relate to concerns, which readily present themselves to the mind in connection with the subject.

March. In the report of a committee for examining the library of the Athenæum, they say, that "to the exertions of the librarian, (Mr. Shaw,) are in a great measure, owing the great value and flourishing state of the institution."

March 29. From William Tudor, Jr., London. He remarks on the death of William Scollay of Boston, in the East Indies. "He is a loss not only to his family, but to his country, for he possessed talents that would have, sooner or later, distinguished him."

CHAPTER XIV.

Governesses—American Speeches—Linnæan Society—Pitkin's Statistics—Cyclopædia—North American Review—Coins—Institution for Deaf and Dumb—Curiosities—Prejudice against the North—Lexington, Ky.—Belsham—Expedition for the Niger—Greek Newspaper—Artiguenave—Minutes of John Adams's Life—Invitation of Campbell—Imputations of Plagiarism—Perkins's Tractors—Webster's Publications—Preference to Foreign Books—Sea Serpent—Portrait by Stuart—Beneficence—Close of Life.

1814, May 1. From B. P. Barrett, dated in Washington. He vindicates himself, as an officer, against the charge of cowardice at Ormstown, October 26, 1813.

May 27. From George Jefferys in Boston. He desired a loan to supply his necessities. He had been in this country near four years. He had a son with him. He states, "My eldest son is now out of his time, and clerk in one of the first merchants' houses in London, Messrs. Cook, Prince & Co. My two eldest daughters are superintending the education of children. The one with a branch of the Duke of Argyle's family and the other in the Earl of Kingston's, where they have been four years. During that time, they have assisted my son. After Christmas, the time they receive their income, they will make me a remittance of a few hundred dollars."

August 4. From the same person. "Accept my grateful acknowledgments for the favor of employing me, and for a recent instance of your kindness, which has rendered me very essential service."

Sept. 12. From John B. Bowen of Philadelphia. "Mr. S. C. Carpenter, of this city, is about publishing an edition of American Speeches of the Bar and Senate, and not having the pleasure of your acquaintance, he requested me to write to you to beg the favor of you to send him any rare and curious speeches that you may be in possession of, and that may come within the scope of his work. He wishes particularly to procure the speeches of Mr. Adams and Mr. Quincy on the trial of Preston in 1770, and if you have any speeches of Mr. Griswold of Connecticut, he will thank you for them. Mr. Carpenter was formerly editor of the Charleston Courier, and of a Review published there, and of many other literary works published in the United States."

Sept. 14. From John Brazer in Dorchester. As he had been invited, through Mr. Shaw, to become the tutor of the children of "His Excellency, Mr. Chenquion," he desires explanation of the duties expected of him.

Dec. 26. A printed circular from Rev. J. T. Kirkland is addressed to Mr. Shaw. It relates to publishing a periodical, afterwards called the North American Review. Of this work, which began to be issued the next year, Mr. Shaw was an eminent supporter and promoter.

The Linnæan Society, which lasted several

years, and imparted a stimulus to the study and collections of natural history, commenced its active operations as soon as this year. They elected Mr. Shaw for their vice president. He contributed bountifully towards the purchasing of their costly specimens of the animal kingdom. They finally gave their collections to Harvard College, so that they might still aid to advance the same object.

1815, Feb. 25. Among the papers of Mr. Shaw, is one which contains a proposal for steps to be taken towards the purchase of land and the erection of a fire-proof building to contain the libraries, etc. of the Agricultural Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston Athenæum, Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Linnean Society.

March 20. From Timothy Pitkin at Farmington, Conn. "The return of peace was thought a favorable time for the publication of the statistical work, which I mentioned to you in Boston last summer, and for the publication of which, I now enclose you one of my proposals. I shall be happy to receive any suggestions you may think proper to make, in furtherance of the objects contemplated, or others connected with them." This useful work was published.

May 1. Mr. Shaw contributes towards the Asylum for Indigent Boys, which he continued for several years.

Oct. 2. Samuel F. Bradford, of Philadelphia, sends Mr. Shaw a circular. This stated, that owing to severe losses, he was obliged, at the commencement of the year, to suspend the publication of Rees's

Cyclopædia; that some of the back volumes were burnt by the British at Frenchtown; that the second part of the twenty-fifth volume would be issued from the press about the first of November; and that each half volume, which was fixed, eleven years before, at three dollars, would be raised to four dollars.

Oct. 6. From John W. Stark at Calcutta. He introduces, by letter, Dr. N. Wallich, superintendent of the botanical garden in Bengal, to Mr. Shaw, as secretary of the Linnæan Society. He remarks of the Doctor, "who is desirous of extending the benefits of the garden to our country, as he will himself write you. I am taking some plants, etc. from him for you, which I hope to have the pleasure of presenting in a few months."

Oct. 9. The Doctor's letter contains the following extracts. "I have made up a small box of living plants and a parcel of seeds. My situation renders it incumbent on me to request that you will do me the honor to offer my humble services to the Linnæan Society of Boston. The happy conclusion of the war, and the consequent communications between this country and America, will afford me ample opportunities of presenting to your Society rich East India plants. Any additions to the collections of this garden, which your Society may please to send, will be received with gratitude."

Oct. 12. From John Lowell at Roxbury. After stating that he had declined to accept his election, as a member of the Linnæan Society, he proceeds: "I hope this refusal will not be construed into an

indifference for your Society. Never had any institution in our country so entirely my good wishes. I hailed it as the means of promoting natural science, which has been too much neglected. I am ready to co-operate in measures for its success." He then suggests the course, which he judged best for such an object.

Nov. 14. From John Cooke of Albany. "I have taken the liberty to inform you, that I intend to apply, at the next session of Congress, by petitions, for a remission of the postage on newspapers and pamphlets, to all literary institutions, which may have a room connected therewith for the reception of such publications, in the same manner as printers of papers have. I have spoken to several members of Congress on the subject. They are of the opinion that the request is reasonable, and think there can be no objection to its being granted. To further the object, I beg you to use your influence with some of the members from your quarter."

Dec. 7. Among the applications to Mr. Shaw, as clerk of the district court, for copy-rights, was one of singular style, from Erastus Brown of Stockbridge. It ran thus: "I wish to secure to myself the copy-right of a book, which I claim as author and proprietor, by the following title, viz., The Trial of Cain, the first murderer, in poetry, by rule of court, in which a Predestinarian, a Universalist and an Armenian argue as attorneys at the bar; the two former as the prisoner's counsel, the latter as attorney general; succeeded by hymns and spiritual songs, the measures of which are adapted to

some very pleasing and harmonious tunes, calculated for the entertainment of youth and other serious-minded persons. Composed by Erastus Brown. 'Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.' St. Paul."

1816, April 25. From Jonathan Goodhue of New York. "Happening to mention to John G. Bogert, Esq., of this city, the exertions you were making in collecting a cabinet of coins, and the promise I had made you of rendering you any services which might be in my power, he was so obliging as to say that he should offer you with pleasure any such coins as he possessed in duplicate, and he will accordingly lay them aside to hand to me, when I shall be gratified in forwarding them to you.

"Mr. Bogert is a gentleman of taste and science, and has possessed himself of a collection of rare and valuable coins, probably far more extensive than any other in this country. I have ventured to assure him that you will take pleasure in returning the favors he shall bestow, as far as may be in your power; and as I doubt not the acquaintance will lead to reciprocal services, and be mutually agreeable, so I have been induced to offer him this introduction and to recommend him to your attention and friendship."

Aug. 6. From N. Rickman, Isle of France. After mentioning that he sends him two baskets of beautiful coral plants, he closes, "I embrace this occasion to renew our former acquaintance, and to

thank you sincerely for your civilities when I was in Boston."

Aug. 26. From Garritt Storm in New York. "I have herewith the pleasure to enclose to you specimens of the notes used here as a substitute for small change. I delivered your letter to Mr. Lyman of Northampton, where I staid one day, and received from him every civility I could expect."

Aug. 31. From Charles Sigourney of Hartford. "I have the pleasure of introducing to your acquaintance Mr. Laurent Clerc, recently from France, and one of the instructors from the Abbé Sicard's school for the deaf and dumb, being himself deaf and dumb. Mr. C. goes to Boston, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet and Dr. Cogswell, on business relating to the contemplated institution for educating the deaf and dumb, in this place, and with which you will be made acquainted. You will find Mr. C., in particular, a very interesting acquaintance, and exhibiting, in himself, a striking illustration of the practicability and importance of his system of instruction. The gentlemen will all be gratified with an introduction to the Athenæum, which you will have the goodness to give them. And if you will interest yourself in promoting the successful issue of their mission, you will aid the cause of humanity, and confer a personal obligation on the gentlemen who, in this State, have been the promoters of the benevolent charity they are desirous of carrying into effect."

Nov. 5. James Hamilton, from Philadelphia, accompanies a letter with a medal of Lord Wellington,

called "The Record of British Valor," for Mr. Shaw.

1817, January 1. From Thomas Cook in Edgartown. "For your cabinet of curiosities, I have sent you the tail and sword of a sword-fish, which was caught on Nantucket Shoals."

Jan. 27. From Thomas Clement at Dorchester. During his last visit to Europe, he collected various mineral and other curiosities, which he sends to Mr. Shaw. Among them were specimens of zinc. He states that the only manufactory of it for roofs, ships and kitchen utensils, was at Liege. As well known, this article has since been discovered in our country, manufactured for different uses, and extensively used. Another present was a "croix d' honeur," taken from a French officer, killed at the battle of Waterloo, and purchased of the peasant who inhabits the house of "la belle alliance."

Feb. 6. From William H. Sumner in Washington. "So strong is the Western interest here, that till lately I have thought that Mr. Clay would be Secretary of State. He has been offered the War department twice, and has declined that. ('Tis said this department has also been offered to Mr. Lowndes.) This shows that Mr. Clay either looks to a higher place in the administration, or that he does not incline to become a member of the cabinet with Mr. Adams, who will most probably have the chair of state. The fact is, that there is here, the most extreme jealousy, or else hatred, of any thing that is Northern. They think our notions are too local and our conduct always selfish, and these

passions do not discover themselves as applicable to federalists only, but to the whole country and people."

Feb. 9. From C. Savage in Lexington, Ky. He states, that an Athenæum was forming there, and he desires the advice of Mr. Shaw as to the management of such an institution. For a comparison, either present or future, of Lexington with what it was when Mr. Savage wrote, the following extract is given. "It has about an eighth of the population of Boston. Its houses are brick, generally well built. The streets are commonly paved, with trees on one or both sides of the principal ones. It has five houses for public worship, a college, not yet in operation, a theatre, court house, jail, and a large number of smart shops. There are allowed to be one hundred and twenty private coaches belonging to Lexington."

Feb. 18. A letter from Charles Folsom, on board the United States ship Washington, in Gibraltar Bay. It is accompanied with a box containing specimens in natural history for the Linnæan Society. He remarks: "This is the third time I have troubled you in this way; but I have done so, presuming on your well known disposition to aid all endeavors, however small, to advance the cause of science in our country. What I am able to contribute to this end is certainly very inconsiderable; but 'non sunt contemnenda quasi parva, sine quibus constare magna non possunt.'" Of the valuable collection a few will be named. Shells from the Bay of Naples, procured of Neapolitan fishermen; speci-

mens of the rock of Gibraltar and of spar from the celebrated St. Michael's cave; lava collected on the summit of Vesuvius and Mount Ætna; pieces of marble purchased of a man "who lives by going to Pompeii, Pozzuoli, Baiæ, etc., collecting beautiful fragments among the ruins and working them into snuff boxes and ornaments for sale. Skeleton of a young ostrich, presented to the commodore by the Bey of Tripoli. He died of cold and indigestion. I dissected him and found his stomach completely filled by a large ball of closely matted rope yarns, which he had always devoured with avidity. They were unchanged except in color, which was green, and the mass was surrounded by stones and nails. Balls, apparently of grass, picked up on the shore of Baiæ before Nero's baths; they seem as if formed by the motion of the waves or by insects. Shells picked up on the shore of Carthage, and a specimen of the cement of the ruined walls taken from what is supposed to have been the Byrsa, or, by some, the Temple of Æsculapius. A phial with two lizards caught in Pompeii, and a few insects caught in the ruins of Cartharge." Such mementoes of classic localities must have been received by Mr. Shaw with no ordinary emotions of pleasure.

March 5. From Charles Lean in London, as a specimen of the practice of sending abroad for our musical instruments. "The chief purport of the present is to apprise you that I have inspected the piano forte destined for your friend, Mr. Ritchie, and pronounce it a superb instrument in every sense." He states, that he saw Mr. Belsham a few days

before, who was much gratified that his belief had "stanch friends in Boston."

March 11. Samuel L. Mitchell, in behalf of the New York Historical Society, addressed Mr. Shaw for aid "toward the formation of a Zoological Museum" there.

April 5. From W. Waterman at Senegal. He describes a recent expedition, fitted out by the British government for the Niger. The company "started from the banks of the Rio Nunez in February. They proceeded about one hundred and fifty miles, when a chief of the country stopped them about four months. Seeing no prospect of being able to proceed, Capt. Campbell determined to regain the Rio Nunez, to save from pillage and total loss such articles of value as remained. Major Peddie and Capt. McRea died before they began their march. Capt. Campbell and a Mons. Comer, a French naturalist, who was with them, died after their return. They were all buried near each other."

June 2. From John E. Hall in Philadelphia. "If you can find in your collection a copy of Anthony Benezet's letter to the king of Prussia, I will thank you for a short account of it. Ogilvie talks of a second edition; but I think he had better imitate carpenters, who find it easier to rebuild an awkward edifice than to mend it."

June 13. From Leslie Combs at Lexington. He states that an Athenæum is just opened there, and desires Mr. Shaw to forward the books which he

had offered, if such an institution should be commenced in that town.

June 18. From G. W. Stuart, in Baltimore. "I send you a Greek newspaper brought from Trieste, from Sloan, the author of Travels in Italy, when he returned from that country. I thought this might be a curiosity to some of your Greek scholars and learned quidnuncs who frequent the Athenæum. I hope Mr. Sloan's book is as much admired by you in Boston as it is by his townsmen, and indeed as it is by every body. There are most certainly strong features of originality in his book, which will not only keep it alive, but, if my partiality does not mislead me, will also give it currency in Europe."

July 11. From the same. "I had the pleasure to write you a few days ago by Dr. Hayden of this place, to whom I gave in charge for you a specimen of the marble intended for the columns of the Representatives' Hall in Washington. I am induced to write you again for the purpose of introduciug to your acquaintance Mr. Artiguenave, of the theatre Francois, and a pupil of Talma, who proposes to exhibit in Boston as he has already done in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He has very rare talents for declamation, combined with most improving instruction in the art of elocution. I can only say, that I so highly esteem the qualifications of Mr. Artiguenave, and hope to derive so much advantage from him in improving my knowledge of French, as well as of elocution, that I have engaged him to return to Baltimore in October, for the purpose of establishing a course of lectures on the

subjects connected with his professional pursuits. In the mean time he proposes to make an experiment in Boston of such exhibitions, principally of dramatic declamation, as have proved profitable to him in other places."

July 12. From Bledsoe and Farnham, at Frankfort, Ky. "We take the liberty of requesting you to send on to this place your very valuable Review. We are the editors of a public gazette called the Commonwealth. We should be happy to exchange, and allow you the difference in price. But our object, at this time, in soliciting so valuable an acquisition to literary stock, is for the use of a public reading-room, or miniature Athenæum, just established in this place, under our superintendence, for which we are desirous to procure your magazine."

From John H. Farnham, one of the above firm. "As I am a native of Massachusetts, and feel no ordinary interest in the literature and reputation of my parent State, it will give me much pleasure to aid the circulation of your Review in this State, which the annual convention of the legislature in this town will afford a good opportunity of doing. Your interest and zeal in the republic of letters must be my excuse for intruding on your numerous avocations. Society is improving rapidly here. I hope to be the humble instrument in Kentucky of effecting, on a small scale, what you have so nobly undertaken and performed in the metropolis of New England. The election of Mr. Holley to the presidency of Transylvania University, is now pending before the board of trustees in Lexington. They

have postponed a decision until they hear more explicitly his religious creed. The Presbyterians and Baptists, at present, frown on the nomination; but the enlightened men, of both parties, are zealous for his election. Mr. Pope has requested me to write to Boston for a particular account of Mr. H.'s creed, but I presume this has been done before now."

July 21. From Theodorus Bailey, New York. He requests that exertions might be made to encourage a work introduced as follows: "Baron Lescallier, known to the literary world by various works which long since entitled him to a seat in the Institute of France, etc., has employed his leisure hours for a considerable number of years since his return from the East Indies, in translating several instructive, interesting and moral tales, from the Persian into the French and English languages, to which are added notes, critical and explanatory, on the manners, customs, religion, and other circumstances of the oriental nations. The title of the first of these works, now publishing, is the Enchanted Throne, containing thirty-two tales, which are meant as a body of instruction to a sovereign, for the good and wise government of his dominions."

Aug. 21. From Joseph Delaplaine in Philadelphia. "I had the honor of writing to you yesterday, on the subject of the portrait of the venerable Mr. Adams which is in your possession.

"I am happy to see a disposition, on your part, to encourage the arts. It is really gratifying to reflect

on the manner in which you so handsomely and promptly consented to Mr. Lloyd that I should have the portrait on loan for the purpose of causing an engraving to be executed from it for my national work, the Repository of the Lives and Portraits of distinguished Americans. It is true that I have had granted to me every request which I have made from others to aid me in my heavy and expensive undertaking; and of course, I calculated that one who is known for his liberality would scarcely refuse me the portrait of a distinguished character, and which is so important in my present work.

"I need scarcely mention how essential it is that my engravings should be executed from *original* pictures.

"I pledge to you my honor that the moment my engraver has done with the portrait, it shall be returned with the utmost care and safety. May I beg you to cause it to be put in a case, or box, safely, and shipped by a vessel from Boston for Philadelphia, as soon as your convenience will permit; and may I beg the honor of you to furnish to me for the Repository, a sketch or memoir of Mr. Adams's life. It may be embraced in about twenty-five or thirty, or even more pages of the Repository size.

"Some time ago, at my request, Mr. Adams sent to me the following facts of his life, which I think proper to give you, as, in the event of your kindness to undertake it, you may receive some assistance from them.

"I could certainly draw the memoir of Mr. Adams

myself, but I am very certain if I am honored with it from your pen, it will be much better executed than I possibly could do it. In your hands I know it will be safe. When the engraving is executed, I will with great pleasure send you several impressions for your kind acceptance, and also a copy of the Repository.

"'I was born October 19, 1735, in Quincy, then the North Parish in Braintree. My father was John Adams, born in the same parish. My great-grandfather was Joseph Adams, Sen., and my great-great-grandfather was Henry Adams, who came from England. These all lived, died, and were buried in this parish, as their gravestones in the Congregational church-yard distinctly show to this day. My mother was Susanna Boylston, a daughter of Peter Boylston of Brookline. I was educated partly at the public grammar-school, and partly at a private academy under Mr. Joseph Marsh, both in this parish. In 1751, I entered Harvard College in Cambridge. In 1755, took my degree of bachelor of arts, and immediately undertook the care of the public grammar-school in Worcester, where I lived in the family and studied law in the office of James Putnam, till 1758, when I took my second degree at college, and the oath of an attorney in Boston. In 1761, I was admitted a barrister at law in Boston in the superior court of judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. In 1764, I married Abigail Smith, a daughter of the Rev. William Smith of Weymouth. In 1767, my son John Quincy Adams was born in this parish. In 1770, I was a repre-

sentative of the town of Boston in the legislature of the Province. From 1774 to 1778, I was a member of Congress. In 1778, I was sent to France as a minister plenipotentiary. In 1779, I was a member of the Convention for forming the Constitution of Massachusetts, and in the same year sent to Europe, a second time, to treat of peace and commerce with Great Britain. In 1782, I signed the treaty with the States General of the United Provinces, and on the thirtieth of November, the same year, the preliminaries, and on the third of September, 1783, the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain. In 1785, I was sent as minister to St. James, and remained there till 1788. In 1789, I was Vice President, and continued in that office till 1797, when I was chosen President. In 1801, I was no longer President.

"'For some years I was President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Society for Promoting Agriculture in Massachusetts.

"'The late Governor Samuel Adams was not my brother. He was no nearer related to me than a second cousin. We had the same great-grandfather. John was my father, Joseph, Jr. was my grandfather, the oldest son of Joseph Adams, Sen. my great-grandfather. Governor Adams was the son of Samuel Adams of Boston, the grandson of John Adams of Boston, and the great-grandson of Joseph Adams, Sen. of this parish, now called Quincy, who was the common ancestor of us both.

"'In 1745, when Louisburg was conquered, I took a decided part against France and Great Britain.

"'In 1755, I took a decided part against France and Great Britain too.

"'In 1760 and 1761, upon the first appearance of the design of Great Britain to deprive us of our liberties by asserting the sovereign authority of Parliament over us, I took a decided part against her.'

"I requested Mr. Morse to paint for me a copy of Hancock's portrait for my gallery, which he did, and I have it; but I shall request Mr. Lloyd to have the goodness, and in this request I beg leave to ask your influence and attention also, to obtain the original portraits of Samuel Adams and Hancock; and may I beg, at the same time, that you will have the goodness to send them in the same case with that of Mr. John Adams."

Nov. 10. From H. Brevoort, Jr., in New York city. "In a letter lately received from my friend, Mr. Washington Irving, he observes that Mr. Thomas Campbell, (author of the Pleasures of Hope, etc.) might be allured by assurances of success, to visit the United States. He has for several years past delivered annually a course of twelve lectures upon belles lettres and poetry, at the British Institution, before one of the most enlightened audiences in Europe. The best critics in Great Britain have pronounced them to be compositions worthy of Campbell's genius. I heard him deliver one of them on the comparative merits of the ancient and modern drama, in which was given a character of Shakspeare. So far as my judgment goes, I think it was one of the most pure and masterly pieces of criticism that I have ever listened to.

"The whole of the lectures are written out, and Campbell's mode of delivering them, or rather reading them, is distinct and impressive, without aiming at the graces of elocution. I have consulted with our leading men of taste, and am glad to find them united in a decided assurance of Campbell's success in New York. I have received the same assurances from persons of a similar character in Philadelphia; and the main object of this letter is to ask the favor from you of obtaining, so far as you possibly can, the opinion of the literati of Boston on this subject.

"Suppose, for example, the price of attendance to be fixed at ten dollars for each person, are you not of opinion that he might *at least* obtain a proportion of ten or twelve thousand dollars in Boston, and the total sum obtained throughout the principal cities of the Union?

"Should I receive sufficient encouragement for his enterprise, I would advise him to reach the United States by the first day of October, 1818. It is too late for this season.

"Besides the honor which the success of Campbell would reflect upon the liberal spirit of our citizens, I am persuaded the delivery of his lectures would produce the happiest effects upon our literature, by giving an impulse and a direction to the vagrant taste of the public. Campbell is known to be a fine classical scholar, and never hurries any of his compositions before the public without infusing into them the full inspiration of his genius.

"We owe him a debt of gratitude for having laid

the scene of one of the most classical poems of the age in the United States; he is also nearly connected to us by the ties of kindred, and his brother resides at Richmond, Va., at this moment.

"The subjects and scope of his lectures will be adapted to persons of every description. He is the apostle of no literary sect; his doctrines are derived from Roman and Grecian sources, unadulterated by the fashions of the age in which he lives.

"We shall have the direct road to fame pointed out to us, by one who has triumphantly trodden its paths, and by one whose name has already been consecrated to literary immortality. But it is useless to flourish my trumpet as the herald of Campbell.

"Should he be satisfied with our reception, I trust some one of our colleges will tempt him by an offer of a chair, to remain among us.

"Pray favor me with your answer and your advice. I assure you I have nothing more at heart than to promote the independence of a man whom I love and admire."

This year, Mr. Shaw receives a communication from Noah Webster at Amherst. It contains a long critique on Lindley Murray's Grammar. It shows, that the latter had made large use of Webster's Grammar, but had given him little credit. At its close, the author makes various remarks as to what had been so taken. He says, "They are the fruits of my labor. On what principles can any compiler avail himself of my labors to give popularity to his compilation, without acknowledging the obligation.

The laws of Great Britain do not, indeed, protect my property in that country; but where are the laws of honor, of justice, of civility, and even of magnanimity, which disdains to seek reputation from borrowed merit."

Mr. Webster gives a specimen of similar treatment before. "In the year 1802, I collected with considerable labor and expense, and published a brief history of the banking institutions then existing in the United States.. This was soon republished by one Mr. Humphrey, a printer in Philadelphia, and from his work, the editor of Rees's Encyclopædia, without knowing the author, transferred the history into that work. On being informed of the fact, Mr. Bradford expressed his regret at what had happened, and suggested that justice might perhaps be done to me in a subsequent edition."

With regard to the aid which Murray had derived from his Grammar, Mr. Webster introduces a Mr. Perkins. When this person, "the inventor or son of the inventor of the metallic points or tractors, was in England, diffusing the benefits of the invention, in cases of disease, he very politely sent me a present of a pair of his points, accompanied with a book in praise of their healing virtues. My family have sometimes used them to pick the kernel from nut-shells. Their real value is not known; but considering the price at which they were sold to others, the present was not to be despised. At any rate, it was received as a mark of respect. After Mr. Perkins changed the form of his dress, married a connection of Lindley Murray, and entered

into business with the family of my much respected friend, the late Isaac Collins, his deportment towards me was visibly altered, although nothing had taken place between us to warrant a change. It was noticed by my friends, that he often spoke very disrespectfully of me and my publications. About this time there appeared in a periodical publication in Boston some very bitter invectives against me and my writings." These and other circumstances led Mr. Webster to conclude, that Mr. Perkins thus attacked him, either personally or by some accessory. At this time, the latter and his partner, Mr. Collins, had the first American edition of Murray's Grammar in the press. Mr. Webster then refers to his philosophical and practical Grammar as having met with but little success. He proceeds:

"At the close of the Revolution, I completed these volumes, which were intended to aid the youth of this country in their education. For some years, my plan appeared to be, in a good degree, successful, and to meet the views of my fellow citizens. But for some years past, great efforts have been made to defeat the object, by introducing British books into our schools. This change, however, seems not to be so much the effect of any change in the patriotic dispositions of our citizens in general, as of the efforts of booksellers, and of that reverence, which men of erudition feel for the literary character of our parent country. This reverence, 'major e longinquo reverentia,' however justifiable to a certain extent, is carried to a degree that discourages literary exertions in this country,

and proves a great national calamity. At present it keeps this country completely in leading strings."

Mr. Webster continues: "No sooner had my Grammatical Institutes made their appearance, than a host of compilers began to imitate my example." He then mentions the great sale of his American Spelling-book, and not only of its being used generally in the United States and in the British dominions in America, but also, as report says, in some parts of England He proceeds: "My old Grammar, containing substantially the principles found in Lowth and Murray, I suppressed from principle, in opposition to my interest and the solicitations of booksellers. I was educated in Lowth, but having, by my own researches, discovered that some of the received principles are false, I could not conscientiously continue knowingly to be instrumental in propagating error. I have more recently compiled a Dictionary for the counting-house, with an abridgment of it for common schools, which, in spite of opposition, is gaining ground.

"My Elements of Useful Knowledge, in four volumes, two of which are especially intended to give our youth a correct, though brief view of the settlement, history, and description of their own country, have a limited circulation. The experiment, made by these works, evinces remarkably the predilection, which the people of this country have for a knowledge of Greece, Rome, and Great Britain, in preference to that of their own country.

"By a long and laborious course of investigation, I have endeavored to discover the origin and primary

signification of words, the various structure of language, and the connection between the various languages of the world. The result has satisfied my expectations. I have reasonable ground to believe that my labors will throw 'much light on the subject.' From these researches, it appears beyond a doubt, that the best Dictionaries of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English languages are susceptible of great improvements. Could I hope that my life and strength would be sufficiently prolonged, I should attempt a revision of them all. But there is no rational ground for such a hope. It is believed, however, that my analysis, which is nearly completed, will enable others to perform, with comparatively small labor, what I must leave unaccomplished. This work requires a large portion of life, and an expense of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars. No aid can be afforded me, except in pecuniary means; and the small resources derived from the sale of my publications, have not always borne me above the inquietudes which disqualify a man for tranquil study. If these resources, however, can be enjoyed in future, my means may be sufficient. Under all my discouragements, I have great cause of gratitude to that Being, who has hitherto sustained me. I claim nothing from men but justice; and my confidence in the righteous government of the Supreme Being, leads me to believe, that in the course of events, justice will be done me."

Thus far we have been able to accompany Mr. Shaw, by the aid of correspondence, as a sort of

journal, giving a view of the times to which the attention of himself and friends were immediately drawn. But from this point to his decease, scarcely any such literary materials have come to the hands of the compiler. Consequently an unavoidable blank is occasioned, which he is unable to supply. While the deficiency is regretted, discouragement should not utterly prevent our endeavor to proceed by such guides as yet remain.

Referring to the institution in which Mr. Shaw was deeply interested, as it was in 1815 and 1816, the author,[1] who has ably presented its progress to the public, remarks as follows. "During the two preceding years and the next following, the history of the Athenæum was not marked by any important measures of the trustees. The aspect of the times during the war with Great Britain, was gloomy and discouraging, and no present prospect of increasing the funds of the institution appeared. At this period, while men's minds were absorbed by that war and its consequences, the efficiency of the Athenæum and its very existence, seem to have been, in a manner, identified with Mr. Shaw. He held the offices both of secretary and librarian, and occupied himself almost exclusively, in collecting rare books, pamphlets, coins, and interesting relics of antiquity, and, by purchase or solicitation, bringing them under its roof."

1818, Jan. 20. Such was the ill health of Mr. Shaw, and his consequent inability to do all which he wished, as librarian of the Athenæum, he coin-

[1] Hon. Josiah Quincy's History of the Boston Athenæum.

cided with the adoption of an article for supplying him with an assistant. Still he perseveringly manifested "zeal and diligence" for the advancement of its prosperity. "He continued unwearied in obtaining and adding to its stores, with little apparent solicitude that what was bought with his own funds should be discriminated from what was derived from the bounty of others. He was the last to desire to appropriate to himself other men's benefactions; but, through habit, his happiness becoming inseparably united with the Athenæum, his only thought was for its success." With such relations to the institution, Mr. Shaw was requested several times in the course of the year, by the trustees, to have a separation of his collections from those under their official care. But while he considered their request as proper, he did not so feel the necessity of it as to comply. Therefore, "they thought it better to acquiesce, than to do any thing which should separate the most efficient founder and best patron of the institution from it, in point either of feeling or exertion."

Jan. 29. As an officer of the Linnæan Society, Mr. Shaw received a letter of this date, from the Royal Society in London, acknowledging their reception of a report concerning the sea serpent, discovered near Cape Ann.

1819, June 10. John Adams of Quincy, addresses the subsequent note to Mr. Shaw. "I thank you kindly for sending me the Centinel containing the pieces upon Neutrality, signed 'Marcellus,' which I have long been seeking without success. I hope

you will be able to lend it to me long enough to get such papers copied. I hope you have not forsaken us. The time seems very long since we had the pleasure of seeing you. Here the sight of you is always grateful to your friend and Uncle."

June and September. In the North American Review of these months, John Pickering, the distinguished linguist, published Wyttenback's Observations on Classical Education, which was afterwards republished by the translator, with valuable additions. This, as the learned eulogist[1] of Pickering remarks, "was printed at the expense of that kind-hearted patron of letters, the late William S. Shaw, who deserves a grateful remembrance in this metropolis."

Mr. Shaw continued to be elected Secretary and Librarian of the Athenæum till January 23, 1823, when he retained only the former office, and this for one year longer.

1824, February. At a meeting of the Proprietors of the Athenæum, they passed the following: — "*Voted*, as a tribute of gratitude to William Smith Shaw, our first Secretary and Librarian, for his early, zealous and successful services, by which the growth and prosperity of this institution have been greatly promoted, that the President be authorized to request Mr. Shaw to sit for his portrait, and to cause the same to be placed in the reading-room; and that a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars be appropriated to defray the expense of the same."

[1] Hon. Daniel A. White, who delivered the Eulogy before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, October 28, 1846.

The portrait was done by Stuart, and is preserved among the paintings of the Athenæum.

1826, April 5. As a pledge of his continued wish for the welfare of the Athenæum, Mr. Shaw, among other subscribers, gives it the sum of three hundred dollars. This he did but a few weeks prior to his decease. It was as a parting adieu, and a seal of his strong affection to the object, for whose beginning, advancement and prosperity, he had tasked his energies, and generously devoted a large share of his property, exertions and life.

In connection with this parting farewell, we may revert to other pecuniary concerns, which hold a similar relation. For the period of years in which Mr. Shaw was actively connected with the Boston Athenæum, he made no charge for his official services to promote its interests. Probably no other man, of fit taste, tact and perseverance, could have been found, who would consent to exert himself for it, as he did, while in its infancy, and afterwards, when encumbered with discouraging difficulties, without any compensation.

As additional to what Mr. Shaw gave in common with other donors to the Athenæum, at its outset and in its continuance, besides the many volumes and other presents for it, which he obtained by personal application, or were forwarded to him, as its Secretary and Librarian, there were other items of property, for its use, which he held distinctly as his own private possessions. These were constantly beneficial in rendering the institution more known, and thus drawing to it liberal contributors. Among

them were his valuable coins, and, particularly, his large and rich collection of tracts. Such and similar property, from his papers and other credible authority, was worth not less than ten thousand dollars. Believing, that when he connected these appendages with the Athenæum, he intended that they should remain there, and knowing that his fame was closely interwoven with its prosperity, his heirs conveyed them to its Trustees. In this manner, they who were left to settle his affairs, carried out his former purpose, so that his name is more agreeably associated with the institution, and holds a higher grade among the list of its pecuniary benefactors.

On a review of the preceding correspondence and other correlative matters, facts meet us as the basis of some remarks, in conclusion, relative to the subject of such memorials. From the earliest development of his physical constitution, he was far from being robust and able to combat with severities of climate and exertion. He was more like the sensitive plant than the young oak, which gathers strength from the battling elements. The frosts of winter, and sudden changes of heat and cold, visited him with dangerous coughs. His desire to be as active as his sturdiest playmates, led him to put forth strength at the cost of confinement to the house. The harsh look, word and rebuff, deeply wounded his feelings and discouraged his best endeavors. Well for one of such a temperament, that he was more than ordinarily blest with

parental sympathy, care, counsel and instruction. To protection like this he could flee in the days of his boyhood, as an unfailing asylum from the roughness of the little world in which he moved. Of the prevalent diseases, to which his childhood was subject, were rheumatic and febrile complaints. These accompanied him through life, and, several times, appeared to be more than his natural power could sustain. They occasioned his endurance of suffering, far greater in degree, than usually falls to the lot of mankind.

Concerning the intellectual qualifications of Mr. Shaw, collectively considered, they ranked above those of the common order. Endowed with a discriminating taste for the fine arts, he did much, in co-operation with others, to raise them from their low repute and give them a prominence in our metropolis and country. Favored with a strong and retentive memory, accompanied with an ardent desire and continual application for the stores of knowledge, he made such progress, that few of his age had acquired more extensive acquaintance with books and their authors. Thus was he eminently fitted to guide the searcher in various departments of literature and science. It is true, that such was his repugnance to pretensions without merit, in any sphere of intelligence, that he instinctively shrunk from the empiric in letters, who would browbeat others to show off his own assumed superiority. With such he neither expected nor sought to find favor. But with all, who met him in the spirit of kindness, to exercise kindred feelings, and

interchange friendly thoughts, he rose above the beaten track, and sustained a high rank among the literati around him.

Relative to the moral traits of Mr. Shaw, his early training had a wise and constant reference to them. The daily injunction upon him from the lips of his parents, accompanied with their oft-repeated prayer, that Divine aid would give it efficacy, was, that as among the chief obligations of life, he should overcome selfishness, and scatter the blessings of benevolence wherever he sojourned and wherever he dwelt. Such labor was not in vain. We have full warrant to believe and assert, that while his mind entertained noble motives and conclusions, and his heart cherished tender charities and kind purposes, his actions responded to various and multiplied calls of beneficence. To the relatives and friends, who needed his assistance, he was generous in his gifts. To many others, struggling with adversity, he extended timely relief. To public institutions of different descriptions, he was a ready and constant contributor. When solicitations were to be made for their necessities and advancement, he was frequently and successfully engaged in so unwelcome a service. Through his other walks of society, he exhibited a similar principle. One of the interesting cases, in which he so acted his part, we have from the pen of the Hon. Josiah Quincy. "In this connection, should not be omitted the more than fraternal kindness, which through life he extended to that estimable and meritorious authoress, Hannah Adams, by assisting her with books, pro-

curing for her friends, obtaining subscriptions for her works, and afterwards, when age and infirmities had visited her, obtaining an annuity for her support, superintending all her concerns, and contributing in every way to her comfort. His attention and kindness were the frequent topics of that lady's acknowledgments, accompanied by intense expressions of gratitude." In such manifestations of his prevalent disposition, he made no display. He did not encumber them with intimated conditions, which destroyed respect for the sincerity of his deeds. The good he did, was like the vital air, which is silent, though effectual to sustain and rejoice, but it exacts no ostentatious and slavish returns.

Having attended to these considerations, we are called to notice the end of him, to whom they personally refer. Worn down by protracted complaints, he died suddenly, in Boston, April 25, 1826, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The eloquent historian of the Athenæum remarks, that he was thus taken from his earthly career, "after a life of labor and usefulness, devoted to the advancement of letters; entitling him to the character of a faithful friend, a most worthy citizen, and a zealous and disinterested public benefactor."

Thus far, we have followed the design of this work. The probation, which has allowed us so to do, hurries to a close. With all its haste and absorption, in the busy concerns of earth, it is not without its admonitions. As it is constantly called to notice its cessation in persons of every age, con-

dition, and character, it bids us consider many of the names on these pages, and says in reference to them,

> "Time was, like thee, they life possest,
> And time shall be, that thou shalt rest."

Our ears should hear and our hearts should feel such counsel. It should prompt us to redeem the life, divinely continued to us, so that its fleeting days may bear tidings to the record of heaven, that we are increasingly swayed by the motives of our holy religion, and are thus enabled to calm the rising fears of our latter end.

> "Death's but a path, that must be trod,
> If man would ever pass to God."

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 20, supply A. between Daniel and White ; p. 56, for du Paris read du Pan ; p. 85, for Priestly read Priestley ; p. 142, for William read Benjamin Wells ; p. 176, for Foutrh read Fourth ; p. 203, line 2, for yea read year ; pp. 208 and 216, for Ree's read Rees's ; p. 249, for E. J. before Kendall read E. A. ; p. 265, for Hale read Hall ; and p. 275, for Augustus E. read Edward A.

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